JPRS 71903

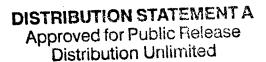
21 September 1978

EAST

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1587

**EUROPE** 

Reproduced From Best Available Copy



20000412 117

U. S. JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

# PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22151. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available through Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio, 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 71903

21 September 1978

# TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1587

	Contents	Page
INTER	CRNATIONAL AFFAIRS	
	Ceausescu, Manescu Congratulate Bulgarian Counterparts (Nicolae Ceausescu, Manea Manescu; SCINTEIA, 9 Sep	78). 1
	Briefs Foreign Theologians in GDR	3 -
ALBAN	ANIA	
	Decree on Drawing Up Urban, Village Plans (GAZETA ZYRTARE, Jul 78)	4
	Regulation on Implementation of Urban, Village Plans (GAZETA ZYRTARE, Jul 78)	11
	Shortcomings in Behavior, Attitude of Youth Deplored (Qemal Mandia; MESUESI, 26 Jul 78)	22
CZECE	CHOSLOVAKIA	
	Returnee Dano on Social Conditions in U.S.  (J. Dano Interview; PRACA, 25 Aug 78)	26
	Briefs CCR Clergymen Prosecuted Swedish Journalist Detained Coal Transport Lagging	30 30 30
EAST	T GERMANY	·
	Dissident Havemann Discusses Views, Police Surveillance (Robert Havemann; POLITIKEN, 12 Aug 78)	31

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
East Berlin Foreign Affairs Journal Analyzes U.S. Near East Policy (Angelika Bator; DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, Jul 78)	35
	33
Briefs Ethiopian Sports Delegation Visits FDGB Shipment for Palestine	48 48
POLAND	
PRC Policy Said To Threaten Poland's Interests (Jerzy Lobman; TRYBUNA LUDU, 5 Sep 78)	49
Possibility of Limited Nuclear War Denied (Tadeusz Pioro; SLOWO POWSZECHNE, 6-7-8-9 May 78)	52
Leaders Greet DPRK Counterparts on National Day (Edward Gierek, et al.; TRYBUNA LUDU, 9-10 Sep 78)	57
YUGOSLAVIA	
Serbian Interior Secretary Interviewed on Security (Dragan Jovanovic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVE NOVINE, 23 Jul 78)	59
Ljubicic Sends Greetings to Navy on Navy Day (TANJUG Domestic Service, 9 Sep 78)	63
Military Weekly Discusses LCY Elections in Army (B. Miletic; NARODNA ARMIJA, 31 Aug 78)	65
Croatian Emigre Terrorist Actions Discussed (DER SPIEGEL, 21 Aug 78)	67
Levelling Trends in Educational Reform Argued (Various sources, various dates)	70
Mandic's Sarcastic View, by Igor Mandic Rebuttal With Statistics	
Briefs General Ljubicic Arrives	72

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

# CEAUSESCU, MANESCU CONGRATULATE BULGARIAN COUNTERPARTS

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Sep 78 p 5 AU

[Greetings message from Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of Romania, and Manea Manescu, RCP Political Executive Committee member and prime minister, to Bulgarian counterparts on Bulgarian National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Todor Zhivdov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee, president of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria,

To Comrade Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

Dear Comrades, on the occasion of the 34th anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, of all the Romanian people and on our own behalf we convey sincere congratulations and warm, comradely greetings to you, to the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and to the friendly and neighborly Bulgarian people.

The Romanian people, fully engaged in extensive efforts to implement the party program on building the comprehensively developed socialist society and on Romania's advancement toward communism, follow with great interest and warm feelings of friendship the remarkable achievements attained by the Bulgarian people, led by their communist party, in building the developed socialist society in their country, in developing the People's Republic of Bulgaria and in continuously raising the working people's material and intellectual standard of living.

We want to express, on this occasion too, our great satisfaction with the continuously ascending evolution of the relations of traditional Romanian-Bulgarian friendship. Our meeting at Turnu Magurele-Nikopol and the beginning of construction work on the hydrotechnical complex, the talks we held on that occasion and the agreements concluded have opened up new prospects for many-sided cooperation in all the areas of activity between our parties, countries and peoples.

We are firmly convinced that the relations between the RCP and the BCP, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continuously deepen and expand, in the spirit of the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance signed in November 1970 and of our joint declaration of September 1977, in keeping with the interests of the Romanian and Bulgarian peoples, and of the general cause of socialism, peace and cooperation in the world.

Dear comrades, we convey to you and to the fraternal Bulgarian people best wishes for ever newer and greater successes in your creative work to implement the decisions of the 11th congress and of the BCP National Conference, for the progress and prosperity of socialist, neighborly and friendly Bulgaria.

[Signed] Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Manea Manescu, prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

CSO: 2700

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

#### **BRIEFS**

FOREIGN THEOLOGIANS IN GDR--On 28 August Hans Seigewasser GDR State Secretary for Church Affairs, gave a dinner in Erfurt for theologians and natural scientists from 13 countries who had attended an Erfurt conference of the "church and society" commission of the ecumenical council, on the topic "the contribution of the socialist countries' churches to the world council program on faith, science and future." In his greeting address Seigewasser stressed the inseparable connection between peace, disarmament and human progress and said: "We consider the demand for peace as an elementary right of life. The GDR citizens regard peace as the concrete basis for cooperation of peoples. Peace becomes reality if all people live up to their task and defend it—be they christians or non-christians." The foreign guests included Metropolitan Paul Gregorios (India), Prof Charles Birch (Australia), Dr Paul Abrecht, representative of World Council of Churches and Priest Vladimir Mustafin (Soviet Union). [Excerpts] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 30 Aug 78 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2300

DECREE ON DRAWING UP URBAN, VILLAGE PLANS

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 3, Jul 78, pp 47-54

[Text]

Decree

On the Drafting, Approval and Execution of Plans Regulating Towns and Villages

In order to put fully into effect the orientations of the Albanian Workers' Party, to design and build towns and villages with a socialist content and a national physiognomy, against any influence of bourgeois and revisionist ideology, to concentrate and assemble construction so as to save as much as possible of the supply of agricultural land, especially farmland, to solve the present and prospective town-planning problems on the basis of scientific studies, and to determine precisely the duties and rights of the state organs in drafting, approving and executing the plans regulating both the duties and rights of citizens.

on the basis of Article 78 of the Constitution and at the proposal of the Council of Ministers

The Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

# Has Decreed That:

## I. General Provisions

#### Article 1

Socialist town planning for the planned harmonized construction of towns and villages with the other inhabited centers within them solves the entirety of the construction problems of housing, defense, the development of the economy and culture, health, conservation of the natural environment, and so forth, in a scientific manner through regulatory plans for prospective periods of many years.

By "other inhabited centers within towns and villages" for the purposes of regulatory planning are meant the inhabited worker centers of the farm enterprises, the economic and production centers and places of recreation and local tourism.

#### Article 2

In towns and villages with other inhabited centers within them, construction of any kind will be done on the basis of regulatory plans, partial town-planning studies, surveys of building sites and building permits.

#### Article 3

Construction will be planned in accordance with the principles of socialist town planning and architecture and the requirements of the country's economic and cultural development, on the basis of the progressive tradition of the past and of our new tradition, and on the basis of the attendant characteristics of nature, the climate, the possibilities of providing building materials and so forth, while showing care for the preservation and exhibition of monuments of historical and cultural value and archeological objects.

# Article 4

The planning and execution of all kinds of construction in towns and villages with other inhabited centers within them and in military units will be done in conformity with the norms and technical conditions for antiseismic stability.

II. Study for the Drafting of Regulatory Plans

# Article 5

The tasks of projection for the drafting of plans regulating towns and villages with the other inhabited centers within them include the multi-year situation and prospects as to demography, housing, defense, industry, agriculture, commerce, education and culture, health, transportation, historical centers and cultural monuments, investments, seismic micro-regionalization, the watermain, sewage, electric and telephone systems, and so forth.

The tasks of projection will be prepared by the organs designated by provisions of the Council of Ministers and will be approved by:

-- the President of the Council of Ministers for towns and places of recreation and national tourism;

- --the executive committee of the district people's council for the villages with the other inhabited centers within them, and the partial town-planning studies;
- -- the united military unit for the special military units.
- III. Projection, Approval and Alteration of Regulatory Plans and Border Lines of Construction

# Article 6

The regulatory plans and border lines of construction of towns and villages with the other inhabited centers within them will be projected by the organs designated by provisions of the Council of Ministers and will be approved by:

- --the president of the Council of Ministers for all towns, places of recreation and national tourism and the important partial town-planning studies when requested, to be presented by the executive committee of the district people's council;
- --the executive committee of the district people's council for the villages with the other inhabited centers within them and the partial town-planning studies;
- --the Ministry of People's Defense, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the executive committee of the district people's council for the border lines of construction in the special military units.

The plan regulating the towns and villages with the other inhabited centers within them, the national tourist centers and the partial town-planning studies, before being approved, will be submitted to the judgment of the masses for a period of up to one month.

# Article 7

Changes in the regulatory plans during their execution or when new conditions are created or archeological objects of scientific, historical and cultural importance are discovered will be approved by:

- --the President of the Council of Ministers for important changes affecting the functional, economic or esthetic side of the plans regulating towns, places of recreation and national tourism and important partial town-planning studies when requested by:
- --the Ministry of Construction for less important changes not affecting the functional, economic or esthetic side of plans regulating towns, plans of recreation and national tourism and important partial town-planning studies approved by the President of the Council of Ministers;

--the executive committee of the district people's council for the villages with the other inhabited centers within them and the other partial town-planning studies.

The border lines of construction will be changed by the organ which has approved them.

IV. Execution of the Regulatory Plans

# Article 8

Construction in towns and villages with the other inhabited centers within them begins with the procurement of a building permit, which will be issued after expropriation has been effected, the building site prepared and the respective project approved.

A permit for new construction of any kind, or for additions or repairs, will be given by:

- --the executive committee of the people's council of the town, or the people's council of the town when there is no executive committee, or of the ward [lagje] for the city of Tirana, for new construction, additions or repairs within the border line of urban construction;
- --the people's council of the united village for new construction within the border line for construction in villages with the other inhabited centers within them, and for additions or repairs to structures located inside or outside of their border lines.
- --the united military unit for new construction, additions or repairs to structures located within the border lines of construction in the special military units, and repairs to structures located outside of their border line.

#### Article 9

In towns, construction of new private dwellings will be permitted with the income of a citizen himself, in rare and necessary cases, within the boundary line of construction and when not in conflict with the regulatory plan.

In villages with other inhabited centers within them, construction of new private dwellings will be permitted, as a rule, with the income of the citizen himself and, in certain cases, with a bank loan in accordance with the special provisions, when concentrated within the boundary line of construction and when not in conflict with the regulatory plan.

Additions and repairs to private dwellings, within the boundary line of construction in towns with other inhabited centers within them will be permitted when not in conflict with the regulatory plan and when all the additions made or to be made, when taken together, do not occupy a larger area than the existing structure itself.

Additions and repairs to private dwellings outside of the boundary line of construction will be permitted only in very rare and necessary cases, and only once, in order to enlarge them to as much as 20 sq m or to repair the roof, the floor or the walls up to 50 percent of their quantity.

In towns, additions will not be permitted to existing private structures with more than two stories.

In places of recreation and tourism, as well as in museum zones and the historical centers of towns and villages with the other inhabited centers within them, construction of new private dwellings will not be permitted. All other kinds of construction, addition or repair to them will be done in accordance with the special provisions.

#### Article 10

To save the supply of land, construction of any sort of towns and in villages with the other inhabited centers within them will be done by making the most rational use of their territory. In villages, new private dwellings and social-cultural and economic objects on farms will be concentrated on a village basis, in its center and, as a rule, among the existing structures. When villages are scattered among several wards [lagje] that are far apart, especially in the mountain villages, construction may also be concentrated on the basis of the large wards with over 20 houses.

The parcels of the cooperativist plots lying within the regulatory plan, when occupied with construction, will be assigned at another place.

In the plains villages, a parcel of up to  $200 \, \mathrm{sq} \, \mathrm{m}$  will be granted for use for building private dwellings; in the hill and mountain villages, up to  $300 \, \mathrm{sq} \, \mathrm{m}$ ; and in towns,  $140 \, \mathrm{up}$  to  $170 \, \mathrm{sq} \, \mathrm{m}$  according to the case.

The heights and the distances between the dwellings and other structures will be determined by provisions of the Council of Ministers.

#### Article 11

The executive committee of the district people's council, the executive committee or people's council of the town, and the people's council of the united village will supervise the execution of the regulatory plan and, for the purposes of that execution, have the right to make changes in use or place limitations on ownership, both for new state construction and for private.

When the construction of new private dwellings or additions in towns and in villages with the other inhabited centers within them causes damage to the property of enterprises, institutions, farm cooperatives or citizens (in walls, warehouses, stables, trees, and so forth) the organ making the changes in use or limitations on ownership, will fix the compensation to be given by the citizen in whose interest the construction is being done.

#### Article 12

Structures in towns and in villages with the other inhabited centers within them which present a danger for persons and for surrounding structures and which cannot be repaired will be demolished, on the basis of a technical report issued by the respective experts, by decision of the executive committee of the district people's council, by the owner himself within the designated time limit and, upon expiration of that limit, by the enterprise to be designated by the executive committee of the district people's council.

# Article 13

Privately owned dwellings in towns will be expropriated by permission of the executive committee of the people's council of the town or by that of the people's council of the town where there is no executive committee; by that of the ward for the city of Tirana, and in the villages by permission of the people's council of the united village.

# Article 14

The people's council of a village or of a ward [lagje] of a town, or of a town, when not divided into wards, will decree the suspension of operations within 12 hours after receiving knowledge of construction, additions or repairs without a permit.

The members of a people's council, the members of the People's Police, the people's attorneys and the authorized persons in the town-planning office of the executive committee of a district people's council have the right to hold hearings [procesverbal] to substantiate construction, additions or repairs without a permit.

# Article 15

When new construction, additions or repairs are made in violation of the provisions of this decree and other provisions issued in execution thereof, the executive committee of the district people's council will order the demolition of the object or its return to its former state.

The demolition will be done by the violators themselves; otherwise, the executive committee of the district people's council will designate an enterprise or farm cooperative to demolish the structure at the violator's expense. The order to collect expenses is an executive writ [titull ekzekutiv].

# Article 16

Persons who do or permit construction, additions or repairs in violation of the provisions of this decree and the provisions issued by the Council of Ministers for the execution of the regulatory plans, when this does not constitute a penal offense, will be punished for administrative contravention by the courts of the villages, the towns or the wards of the towns by social censure or by a fine of up to 1,000 leks.

#### Article 17

The Council of Ministers is charged with issuing regulations on the execution of the decree "On the Drafting and Execution of the Plans Regulating Towns and Villages."

#### Article 18

Decree No. 4758, dated 3 November 1970 "On the Plans Regulating Town, Villages and Inhabited Centers" is hereby rescinded.

# Article 19

This decree will go into effect 15 days after its publication in the Official Gazette.

Tirana, 29 June, 1978

Decree No. 5747

FOR THE PRESIDIUM OF THE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY ON THE SOCIALIST PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

SECRETARY

SECRETARY

Telo Mezini

Haxhi Lleshi

10002

CSO: 2100

REGULATION ON IMPLEMENTATION OF URBAN, VILLAGE PLANS

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 3, Jul 78, pp 57-68

[Text]

The Council of Ministers

Decree

No. 47, dated 10 July, 1978

On Approval of the Regulations "On the Drafting and Execution of the Plans Regulating Towns and Villages

The Council of Ministers, on the basis of article 17 of decree No. 5747, dated 29 June, 1978, "On the Drafting, Approval and Execution of the Plans Regulating Towns and Villages"

# Has Decreed

approval of the regulations "On the Drafting and Execution of the Plans Regulating Towns and Villages" which is attached to this decree.

This decree will enter into effect at the same time as the decree.

Deputy First Secretary of the Council of Ministers

(Adil Carcani)

# Regulations

"On the Drafting and Execution of the Plans Regulating Towns and Villages"

# I. General Provisions

# Article 1

The ministries, the other central institutions, the people's councils and their executive committees, the enterprises, the institutions, the military units, the social organizations, the farm cooperatives and citizens

are obligated to do construction on the basis of the regulatory plans, partial town-planning studies and surveys of construction sites with a building permit.

II. Content and Preparation of the Projection Tasks for Drafting the Regulatory Plans

# Article 2

The projection tasks will serve as a basis for drafting the regulatory plans and will contain historical studies and data, and studies on the state and the social and demographic development of the economy, industry, agriculture, education and culture, communications and so forth for many years in the prospective future, as well as on the peculiarities of the climate, the relief and seismic microregionalization.

# Article 3

The projection tasks for drafting the regulatory plans and the partial town-planning studies will be prepared by:

- --the people's council of the united village, in collaboration with the president of the farm cooperative and with the aid of the respective sections of the executive committee of the district people's council for villages;
- --the executive committee of the district people's council for the partial studies, and in collaboration with the ministries and the General Directorate of Communal Economy for towns and the other inhabited centers within them. The work of preparing the projection tasks will be organized by the plan section, in collaboration with the other sections;
- -- the General Directorate of Communal Economy, in collaboration with the executive committee of the district people's council for places of recreation and national tourism;
- -- the united military unit for special military units.

#### Article 4

The projection tasks will be submitted to the masses for discussion, with the broadest possible participation of the specialists in the various fields and of the aktiv on prospective problems of town planning.

The aktivs on prospective town-planning problems in the districts are consultative organs under the executive committee of the district people's council, consisting of specialists in the various fields and directed by

the deputy secretary concerned with construction problems. They will assist in examining the projection tasks and regulatory plans, for prospective studies of the various zones of a town, for discussion of important projects, and so forth.

III. Projection of Regulatory Plans and Partial Town-Planning Studies

#### Article 5

The regulatory plans will be projected:

--for towns with a population of over 15,000 inhabitants, towns which are centers of districts, new towns of any size, and places of recreation and national tourism by the projecting organs of the Ministry of Construction and with its authorization also by the projecting organs of the executive committees of the district people's councils.

--for all other towns and for villages with the other inhabited centers within them, and partial town-planning studies, by the projecting organ of the executive committee of the district people's council.

-- for the special military units by the united military unit.

The regulatory plans will be drafted in two phases:

- a) Project concept [Projektidea];
- b) Technical project of the road network.

The partial town-planning studies will be drafted in two phases:

- a) Project concept;
- b) Technical project of execution.

# Article 6

In order to save the supply of land and discipline construction, the regulatory plans will contain the phases [faza] of the boundary line, the protected belt, the highway network, the residential zone, the museum and protected zones, the industrial and warehouse zone, the economic agricultural zone, the zone of greenery and sport fields, the distribution of the most important educational, health, administrative and social buildings, existing buildings of historical and cultural value, the first phase of construction and the direction of extention in the distant future, the watermain, sewage, electric and telephone networks, and so forth.

The boundary line of the regulatory plan is the conventional line marked in the regulatory plan which designates the territory necessary for the various kinds of construction for a period of many years. In order to save the supply of land, concentrate construction and limit its exten ion for shorter periods than the regulatory plan, the boundary line will be fixed in two or more phases of performance in time.

The protective belt is a zone designated around a town depending upon the relief and the other conditions and has the purpose of preserving the natural and panoramic environment.

# Article 7

In order to make the best possible use of the territory in towns, in villages and in other inhabited centers within them, and in conformity with the possibilities for providing building materials, with the water supply and other conditions, the heights of dwellings are fixed as follows:

- --In towns, the state dwellings will not be lower than 4 stories nor higher than 6 stories, while private dwellings will not be higher than 2 stories.
- --In other inhabited centers within towns and plains villages, the state dwellings will not be lower than 3 stories nor higher than 5 stories, while private dwellings will not be higher than 3 stories.
- --In other inhabited centers within towns and hill and mountain villages, and in villages, the state dwellings will not be lower than 2 stories nor higher than 3 stories, while private dwellings will not be higher than 3 stories.

#### Article 8

In order to save the supply of land and fill hygienic and sanitary requirements, and those for sunlight, ventilation, fire protection and the Civil Defense of the Republic, the distances between dwellings must be as follows:

a) When structures are placed opposite one another, have windows and a width of up to 20 m, and when, regardless of width, one structure is situated obliquely to another:

Not	less	than	4	meters	for	1-	story	structures
11	11	11	6	11	11	2	11	11
11	11	**	8	11	11	3	11	11
				***				11
11	11	11	12	11	11	5	11	11

b) When structures are placed opposite one another and have windows and a width of over 20 meters:

Not	less	than	6	meters	for	1-	story	structures
•••	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	9	11	11	2	11	11
		11	13.5	11	11	3	11	11
11	11	11	18	11	11	4	11	11
11	**	11	20	11	11	5	"	11

c) When structures are placed beside one another and the sides facing one another have no windows, they may be in contact with one another, while private dwellings may be as little as 1 meter apart provided that the prescribed measures for fire protection are taken.

In determining the height of a structure and the distances, the special elements which are erected or project outside of the structure are not taken into account.

- d) The heights of housing structures belonging to day nurseries, kindergartens, schools and health facilities must not be less than 1.5 times the height of the structure situated to the south, while the distances fixed in points a and b of this article will be applied to structures located in other directions of the compass.
- e) The distances between dwelling structures that are higher than 5 stories will be determined according to their studies and projects.

#### Article 9

Housing, social and economic structures will be placed on the edge of the sidewalk or back from it, and in no case will they be allowed to project onto the sidewalk and narrow it. The height of the window sills of the ground floor of housing structures from the street sidewalk, when the structures are placed at the edge of the sidewalk, must, as a rule, be not less than 1.6 meters.

# Article 10

Schools will be placed back from the edge of the sidewalk on roads of the first and second categories by not less than 25 m, while social structures requiring assembly areas, in order to create the best conditions possible for hygiene and sanitation and for protection against noise, must be set back 10-15 m. It is recommended that other structures having to do with mass gatherings, such as stadiums, sports palaces, swimming pools, and so forth, shall not be placed alongside of roads of the second motor-vehicle category and must be set back not less than 20-25 m from the edge of the sidewalk.

# Article 11

It is necessary to plant trees on sidewalks 3 or more meters wide. The distance of the trees from the edge of the road will depend on the kind of trees and will range from 0.5 to 0.75 m. For sidewalks less than 3 m wide, the trees will be planted outside of the sidewalk (within the yards or building plots). Exceptions will be made for cases where the planting of trees would obstruct the view of cultural monuments.

#### Article 12

The road network in the regulatory plans must fulfill the technical conditions and requirements of motor vehicle and pedestrian traffic in accordance with the purposes of town planning.

The streets in towns are divided into five categories:

- --The streets of the first category with 6 lanes are the boulevards [shetitore-"promenades"] and the main thoroughfares for urban service traffic in large cities.
- --The streets of the second category with 4 lanes are the streets with heavy traffic (the rings) in the big cities and the main urban service thoroughfares.
- --The streets of the third category with 3 lanes and of the fourth category with 2 lanes are the streets separating the residential wards from one another.
- --The streets of the fifth category with 1 lane are the inner streets of the residential blocks.

The width of the sidewalks on the streets or boulevards in towns which are district centers will be given in special projects.

The streets in villages are divided into three categories:

- --The main roads with a width of 4 m in the paved or graveled part.
- -- The secondary roads with a width of 3 m in the paved part.
- --Small roads for pedestrian traffic with a width of 2 m in the paved part.

The Projection of Industrial and Economic Construction and the Sanitary Protective Zone

# Article 13

- 1. Industiral and economic construction in town and country will generally be kept outside of the residential territory, in zones suited for that purpose, on lands that are the least productive and designated in the regulatory plan.
- 2. Industrial and economic construction (industrial, public-utilities, warehouses, stables, and so forth) will be placed at specified distances from the residential zone so as not to damage it with the noxious substances which they emit, such as gases, smoke, soot, fumes, noise, dust, and so forth.
- 3. In all cases, it must be seen to, in designating the industrial and economic zones, that the prevailing winds do not carry the noxious substances in the direction of the residential zone, and when they emit liquid pollutants they must be placed at lower elevations than the residential zone.

# Article 14

- 1. The sanitary protective zone is the free zone left between the residential zone and the industrial and economic zone. In order that this zone may serve the purpose as well as possible, it is recommended that a forest belt with tall greenery and evergreen be created within it.
- 2. Construction of other industrial objects in less noxious groups will be permitted in the width of the protective zone according to groups will be maintained between the industrial structures and the residential wards. Construction of shelters [strehime] and fortifications will likewise be permitted.
- 3. The width of the sanitary protective zone will be calculated from the industrial structures, stables or warehouses emitting noxious products to the nearest residential structures in an inhabited ward which are included in the regulatory plan.
- 4. Industrial and public-utility structures will be allowed to be placed near a residential zone when they do not emit noxious substances or gases, do not produce noise beyond the permitted norms and do not need railroads, provided that the distances according to groups is maintained.

#### Article 15

Industrial, agricultural and public-utility objects and warehouses will be classified into 5 groups according to type, capacity and degree of harmfulness to health:

The first group embraces those in which the width of the sanitary protective zone is not less than 700 m.

The second group embraces those in which the sanitary protective group has a width of not less than 500 m, the third not less than 300, the fourth not less than 100, and the fifth not less than 50 meters.

#### Article 16

Projection of New Structures in the Free Zone in Museum Towns and at Historial Centers and Special Monuments.

New structures in the free zone of museum towns and generally at historical centers and monuments of the first category, must, during the projecting, take into account the values of monumental ensembles and special monuments, showing respect for them and, according to the case, also harmonizing them with the new structures in accordance with the respective provisions.

Restoration work within historical centers in the museum towns and other towns, as well as on special cultural monuments, will be done by the Institute of Cultural Monuments in accordance with the respective regulations.

IV. Execution of the Regulatory Plans

#### Article 17

Building permits will be given for the following types of operations:

- a) new construction and additions;
- b) various repairs affecting the eunctional and structural sides of a structure (such as alterations in environments, construction and replacement of walls and the general design of a roof, and so forth):
- c) external alterations in the architectural details of railings, loggias, windows, and so forth;
- d) painting of scenes on main streets or roads;
- e) construction of new enclosing and decorative walls;

- f) construction of streets, sidewalks and the planting or ornamental trees;
- g) the placing of posters and slogans, facade lighting, temporary commercial and service booths, and so forth;
- h) the placing of permanent benches on sidewalks;
- i) new structures, additions and repairs to defense objects;
- j) operations that break up the existing streets of plazas. Applications for building permits will be accompanied by the following:
- 1. For State Construction:
- a) by a survey of the ground to be built upon as approved according to the provisions in force, to a scale of 1:500 or 1:1,000, together with the parcel occupied by the object, its connection with the terrain, the direction of construction, and the existing watermain, sewer, electric and telephone networks.
- b) by the project and estimate for the execution of the new construction or addition;
- c) by the blueprints for the floors that are not duplicated and a blueprint of the typical floor;
- d) by typical cross-sections and main views (for the individual objects):
- e) by technical notes and guidelines on the size of the lot, the kinds of plastering and painting, masonry, details of plinths, parapets, and so forth.

The project must bear the stamp of the institution which has projected it, with the respective signatures.

In the case of type projects, the building permit will be accompanied by a blueprint showing the location on the building lot, the appellation of the type, the connection with the terrain and external views.

When structures are built on main thoroughfares, the building permit will also be accompanied by a harnomization with the existing structures, by a description of the finishing touches [rifiniture], by a treatment of the windows, loggias and balconies, the elevations in relation to the terrain, and so forth.

# 2. For Private Residential Construction

By a project or sketch of the construction with the name and surname of the citizen, and by a blueprint of the construction site and the distances from neighboring structures.

#### Article 18

Building permits will be valid for one year's time from the date of its issue. Upon the expiration time, another permit may be granted at the request of the interested party when the new conditions permit.

#### Article 19

New construction in towns and in places of recreation and national tourism will be staked out either by the town-planning and projecting office in the district or by the construction enterprise, or by the construction technicians with the executing or economic enterprises authorized for that purpose, and in villages and other inhabited centers within them by the construction technicians with the farm cooperatives or by the other technicians authorized by the executive committee of the district people's council.

#### Article 20

The executive committee of the district people's council will bring the regulatory plans for towns and places of recreation and national tourism in villages with the other inhabited centers within them into line with the new construction done above ground and under ground.

## Article 21

Anyone who is building and demolishes structures and bridges or performs other building operations that obstruct or endanger traffic must provide the site with a temporary enclosure before beginning operations. The permit for provisional construction, according to the case, will indicate the boundaries, the height and type of temporary enclosure, which must not impair the view of the street or road.

Executing enterprises of any kind, economic enterprises, farm cooperatives and citizens are obligated during construction:

a) to keep clean the roads and streets along which operations are carried on throughout the length of the construction and especially on the asphalted streets.

b) when partial impairment of streets or sidewalks is noted during operations, they must be restored to their previous condition upon completion of the operations.

#### Article 22

Temporary construction is any construction that is executed with locally available materials of only temporary stability, light and easy to disassemble, with a time limit of up to ten years, such as sheds, kiosks, exposition halls, grandstands, billboards, building sites, enclosures for machines, and so forth.

Building permits also fixing the time limit within which those structures must be destroyed will be obtained therefor.

In placing them, care will be taken to see to it that they do not harm the esthetic aspect, the movement and traffic of pedestrians or motor vehicles.

# Article 23

When new construction happens to be surrounded by existing structures that obstruct connection with the roads or streets of a town, village or inhabited center, expropriation will be decreed in accordance with the special provisions.

# Article 24

The executive committee of the district people's council and the executive council of the city people's council will obligate the commercial, publicutility and other institutions to regulate show windows, and to do painting in accordance with the esthetic requirements of the town within the time limit set by the executive committee.

#### V. Final Provisions

#### Article 25

The ministries and other central institutions will draft the norms for town-planning projection according to the sector which they cover.

The Ministry of Health in collaboration with the other ministries will issue guidelines on the classification of the industrial objects for the five groups designated in article 15.

10,002 CSO: 2100

# SHORTCOMINGS IN BEHAVIOR, ATTITUDE OF YOUTH DEPLORED

Tirana MESUESI in Albanian 26 Jul 78 p 3

[Article by Qemal Mandia: "Moral Civic Education of Students Forms One of the Main Aims of the Teaching and Educational Process"]

[Text] Moral civic education, as a component part of communist education, has constantly been one of the main tasks of the Faculty of History and Philosophy in the struggle to enforce the party's directives and Comrade Enver's teachings. Under the guidance of the party base organizations, and all the social and state organisms, students and pedagogs have been involved in an intensive and continuous struggle against alien manifestations.

Moral civic education has been treated among us as an important timely aspect of the class struggle within the framework of the intensification of the bourgeois and revisionist encirclement and ideological aggression.

The treatment of moral civic education on a broad plane has conditioned the tasks set and the improvements made in the whole system of teaching and educational work. The educational character of the teaching process has been reinforced in the three components, as has the educational work outside of instruction, and the unity between instruction and educational work outside of the faculty has been strengthened.

The tasks of moral civic education are being performed in every subject. A special role in this respect is being played particularly by the social subjects and those relating to the esthetic and pedagogic cycle.

The fight against alien influences and manifestations has been intensified especially in the youth organizations. In the course of mutual debate and discussion with the pedagogs correct concepts have been formed and the work of deepening them and creating lasting convictions about them continues.

In the last few years perceptible improvements have been made in the quality, method and style of educational work outside of instruction. The students carry on broad and manysided ideological, scientific, cultural-

artistic and sports activities. In all these broad activities an important place is occupied by the genuine problems of moral civic education. connection, there have been successful ideological debates, revolutionary drives and movements to perfect the moral stature of the students, to make a thorough study of Comrade Enver's works, to achieve great progress in instruction, primarily in social subjects, to strengthen proletarian discipline in instruction, production work and military training, to learn from the working class, and so forth. All these drives and initiatives have been synthesized in the revolutionary movement of the students, with the slogan "Let us prepare ourselves to be red commissars of our socialist countryside", which has greatly influenced the education of the students and mobilization in instruction and discipline. Recently, especially since the Seventh Party Congress, a more active educational life has developed, there has been better organization of the political hour, the exploitation of the press, the work with lectures, the visits and meetings with veterans and vanguard workers, writers, composers, and so forth. This year, better efforts have been noted to tie in with the youth organizations in the vanguard of production, as with those of the Enver Plant, and so forth, and to organize common activities with them.

Extensive efforts have been made to activate students in all forms of educational activity outside of instruction. Over 185 students have been activated in the various scientific circles, especially in those dealing with literature and pedagogy. Some scientific sessions have also dealt with problems of moral civic and ideoesthetic education in the spirit of the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of 1974. Hundreds of other students have been activated in cultural-artistic and physical-culture and sports activities.

In addition, there have been marches and hikes (ekskursionel), collective attendances at cinemas and theaters, afternoon entertainments and other activities for cultured relaxation; interest has been increased in books, the theater, exhibits, museums, classical music as well as popular music. All these activities have been carried on both with the mass of students and with special groups. As a result of all these numerous forms of educational activity, evident improvements are also being felt in the fruitful use of the students' free time.

However, some of these activities, especially the cultural and artistic ones, are being carried on by campaigns and jumps.

Without denying the great job and the many results achieved in the fight for the moral civic education of students, we have to assert that a good many weaknesses and shortcomings, alien and liberal manifestations and attitudes have also been noted in our work, and we are endeavoring to eliminate them.

The discussions and debates held some time ago in the faculty on the fight against alien manifestations also brought out cases of violation of the moral civic norms by some students. Thus, individual students still display

a good many manifestations of violation of discipline and a low degree of conscience in their work. There are unjustifiable absences, which are often easily excused by medical reports. Preparation for the seminars and colloquiums is not always on the required level, and there are students who misuse their free time. All these manifestations of contentment with little and the like are concretized in the alien notion that "we will become rural teachers." Such attitudes are noted especially in certain students who come from the general secondary schools. There are also some students who seek to shirk the difficulties of production work and military training and do not mobilize to the proper degree.

There are still instances of misuse of socialist property, being most pronounced in the boarding schools (konvikt), where there have been cases of misuse of furnishings and utensils, loss of them, and so forth.

Alien manifestations, conceit, arrogance, and so forth, are still noted in the behavior of some students. There are also alien manifestations with regard to external appearance, cases of following the fashion, keeping long hair and inappropriate attire.

The above manifestations and others like them which are noted in individual elements and do not represent the mass of students have not been underrated. They indicate still inadequate and poor-quality work by pedagogs in the education of youth, and the formalism that still exists in the forms of student education, and so forth. Likewise, it must be emphasized that there are still manifestations of liberalism, indifference and failure to demand an accounting in a good many youth organizations and on the part of a good many supervisory pedagogs, who are not being confronted openly through debates or with flyers against the dross and alien manifestations of students.

The weaknesses and shortcomings which we describe above, under the conditions of the situation of bourgeois-revisionist blockade and pressure, demand of us that we further improve the quality and effectiveness of our educational work with youth. Let us see to it that all without exception, pedagogs and students, live fully with the situation. Let us think and act like revolutionaries. Let us resist liberal and intellectualistic views with revolutionary attitudes. Let us strengthen our revolutionary vigilance and unmask every alien action or manifestation, launching the whole mass of students and pedagogs more fully into this fight under the leadership of the party organization.

With all this in mind, the problems of moral civic education, in our college too, are being placed in the center of the whole instructional-educational process, especially the particular educational activity of all the chairs, pedagogs and youth organizations.

The treatment of certain problems of moral education, particularly civic education in philosophy and such subjects as pedagogy, psychology, and esthetics (wherever these are taught), is being strengthened and brought up to date.

The problems of civic education can and must be treated more widely and in more detail in the hour of political-educational work with the student youth, an hour planned to be given once a week. In this hour, problems of civic education might be treated once a month. These lessons should be given in various forms, such as lectures, conversations, debates, and so forth. They will be conducted both by the supervisory pedagog and by the students themselves. It would be fruitful if lectures or talks were given in one hour and then discussions were held about them the next time, especially on subjects having to do with the concrete aspects of civic education.

In order to develop moral and civic education on the highest possible level, a program has also been drafted which will be carried out with all students during two or three school years.

The development of the subjects will be based on the party documents and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, on press materials and on problems preoccupying the collectives themselves.

10,002 CSO: 2100

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

RETURNEE DANO ON SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN U.S.

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 25 Aug 78 p 4

[Interview with J. Dano: "Atmosphere of Anxiety Caused by Unemployment"]

[Text] The Slovak Press and Information Office arranged for our editorial board to meet with Jozef Dano who recently returned from the USA after many years of residence. The reading public is familiar with his statement at the press conference with Czechoslovak journalists at the beginning of August of this year in which he sketched a picture of contemporary life in the USA. Our Board of Editors was interested in some concrete problems—namely in social policies field—and J. Dano answered the questions we presented to him in detail:

[Question] You mentioned during your press conference that the working man in the USA loses all his savings in case of a rather grave illness. Could you give us more concrete information: For instance, how much does an operation and stay in a hospital cost?

[Answer] A hopsital bed costs a minimum of \$100 daily, the doctor and drugs not included. If a patient wants a one-bed room, the basic fee is some \$200 daily. This is in case of public hospitals. Private hospitals' fees are substantially higher. A working man cannot afford their therapy. A gall bladder or stomach operation costs approximately \$4,000-5,000, a more complicated operation—for instance, a heart or brain operation—up to \$18,000. They investigate the patient's bank account before they start to operate. Should they find it insufficient, someone has to vouch for him. American doctors do not know the Hippocratic oath concerning the doctor's moral duty to help suffering persons. Even in medicine the inconsiderate law of profit prevails. Whoever does not have money is supposed to help himself. The humanitarian approach is considered a sentimental anachronism....

[Question] The crisis development of the capitalist economy is swelling the ranks of unemployed in the West by additional millions. How much is unemployment relief in comparison to the general minimum subsistance level and how long do the unemployed persons receive it? A further question: Is a university or high school graduate considered unemployed in case he does not get a job?

[Answer] An unemployed person in the USA cannot receive unemployment relief for more than 1 year and it represents 50 percent of his last income, not less than \$90 weekly. It appears as decent money to our citizen. In America, however, there are different living expenses. A 2-room apartment in an average apartment house costs \$200 to \$300 a month, which represents half of the average income. A lunch for which you would pay Kcs 20-30 in a Czechoslovak restaurant costs \$10-15 in the USA, an ordinary haircut \$5-6. Unemployment relief is hardly sufficient to cover modest living expenses and thus forces everyone to use his savings, provided that he has savings. To lose work is a disaster, a catastrophe.

Speaking of high school or university graduates who have not found jobs, it is possible to say quite unequivocally that they do not get a single dollar of unemployment relief for the simple reason that they never have been employed. It is a personal tragedy for the American youth affected in this way. In order to protest against this unjust and inconsiderate system, many young people seek escape in drugs and crime. In essence, they enter the way of evil out of despair.

[Question] The imperialists accuse the socialist countries of a lack of human rights. We consider as a basic human right--not to be denied to anyone--the right to work, to receive free education, medical care, etc. Simultaneously, we do not recognize either national or racial differences. What are the human rights of colored inhabitants of the USA, for instance, Indians, Puerto Ricans, people of any kind of mixed origin?

[Answer] According to federal laws, racial, national or religious discrimination is prohibited. These laws are, however, circumvented and racial discrimination exists. Government institutions have succeeded in the last 10 years in implementing employment of black citizens in the USA, some work even for the press and television. But no law can force a private employer to employ a man he does not want to employ. It is true that enterprises with active trade unions respect the law, but even in such a situation the capitalist knows how to circumvent it. He has a man who interviews the candidate for employment in a decent way and writes his name on a waiting list. This is a form of refusal, since a promise "come to see us in a half-a-year" is not binding and cannot feed the unemployed person's family. With the exception of supermarkets, few ordinary shops have trade union organizations. This can be said also of restaurants whose owners are absolute autocrats and employ only those people whom they want to employ. This is the essential appearance of a modern form of racial discrimination.

[Question] After the liberation, particularly after the February victory, a number of lordly mansions were converted into the trade unions houses of recreation, we built tens of new ones and even individual enterprises constructed hundreds of recreational facilities or Pioneer camps. The Revolutionary Trade Unions Movement provides for various kinds of domestic recreation or recreation abroad for more than 80,000 working people, to which we are not adding recreation organized by the enterprises. And, the Revolutionary Trade Unions Movement gives an additional 70 millions korunas for recreation for some 90,000 children in the Pioneer camps. (Both data pertain only to Slovakia.) Did you encounter this form of concern for the working people in the USA?

[Answer] Nobody in the United States would believe what you just said. One would describe it as absurd. Generally, employees organized in trade unions complain that they pay their contributions in vain, since their trade unions will not return them one single cent in form of recreation or therapy. But you have to join the trade unions wherever they exist. It is their agreement with the employer. Some large trade unions still give people something: A bonus for their retirement. An American working man can retire, however, only after his 65th birthday. Many are so exhausted by the American pace of work and life that their retirement plus their bonus is hardly sufficient to pay their medical expenses.

[Question] For example, in 1976 working people in Slovakia received from the Fund for Cultural and Social Needs loans of Kcs 120 million for various forms of housing construction and Kcs 57 million for apartment furnishings. Is this form of social policy known in the USA?

[Answer] No one would believe that either. You can get loans only from private banks. As an example: For house construction or car purchase they will give you a loan only if you have a minimum of 15 percent of the value. The interest is high and grows according to time during which the borrower intends to repay his loan. And something that is unknown in the CSSR is involved: Even if you repay, for example, 95 percent of the house's or the car's value, you may still lose everything should you lose your job and be unable to repay the balance. The conditions of agreement stipulate that property (house, car, etc.) which you purchased with a bank loan remains in the bank's ownership until fully paid. In case of non-fulfillment of the consitions on the debtor's part, the bank is at any time entitled to retain the property. The little man--and he represents the majority in the USA--lives with this kind of disagreeable risk constantly. And, above all, another anxiety is added--fear of sickness or unemployment. America is ruled by capital, the Mafia and insecurity.

[Question] What is the class character of the largest American trade unions? What are they able to do for a man who has lost his job or who is threatened with losing it?

[Answer] Although the American trade unions have a number of nice slogans, they are a part of capitalist system. It is necessary to differentiate between the rank and file members who must be union members in order to exist and their leadership which is often quite reactionary and corrupt. It is true that the trade unions' leadership sometimes has to take the workers' side, particularly when salary disputes are climaxing. But the trade unions' leaders usually come to an agreement in advance with the capitalists on new salaries as well as on the duration of strikes. They make quite a bit of noise and the strike lasts as long as there is money in the fund to support the striking workers. It is necessary to exhaust these funds periodically.

As far as loss of employment is concerned, the trade unions are utterly powerless and employers do not consult them. They have a single power-to intervene whenever the employer would like to replace a whole group of fired people. But I repeat, they cannot do anything for a man threatened by loss of work.

And clearly exposed here also is the question of democracy as well as the question of rights of the little man. The American working man has a comparatively high living standard as long as he has a good job and is healthy. His living standard diminishes rapidly as soon as he needs medical assistance. Whenever he loses work his situation becomes desperate. It is aggravated by the fact that aid--for the most part even among relatives--is an unknown entity. Money is the only criterion. Whoever has money is considered an established and capable citizen, whoever lacks money is automatically pushed out of the society and is considered useless or incapable (even if this should be patently untreu). This is the American reality.

CSO: 2400

#### BRIEFS

CCR CLERGYMEN PROSECUTED--According to information given by ecclesiastic circles in Vienna, the Czechoslovak Protestant Pastor Jan Simsa was sentenced in Brno to 8 months in jail because he resisted a member of the State Security (STB). Simsa, a signatory of the civil rights manifesto Charter 77, was arrested on 30 May. The STB searched his apartment the next day. During this search Simsa pushed an officer who wanted to snatch a document from Simsa's wife. Also, a Catholic priest has been indicted in Breclav close to the Austrian border in the past few days. Pastor Frantisek Bublan has to appear in court because he put out a black flag on his church on the occasion of the death of Pope Paul VI. According to Viennese ecclesiastic circles, the CSSR authorities believed this to be an act of "provocation" on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of 21 August, the day of the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the armies of the Warsaw Pact which ended the Prague Spring. [Text] [Munich SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 2 Sep 78 p 5]

SWEDISH JOURNALIST DETAINED--Prague, Thursday--GOTEBORGSPOSTEN'S correspondent in Czechoslovakia, Jan Behre, was held for interrogation by the Czechoslovak police starting last Tuesday but was released Thursday after his press accreditation was canceled The Swedish Embassy in Prague informed the Swedish press wire service that Behre, who should have left Prague Wednesday morning, was arrested Tuesday evening and detained for a good 40 hours. According to the embassy he was not given a reason for the arrest, despite repeated requests. He was merely informed that he must leave Czechoslovakia by midnight Thursday. [Text] [Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 25 Aug 78 p 11 LD]

COAL TRANSPORT LAGGING--Railroad workers of the Southwest Railroad surpassed planned tasks in gross ton kilometers by almost 2 percent. However, transport of the planned quantity of coal from the Sokolov coalfield was not successfully met. It is still hindered by lack of discipline on the transporters' part who held over 25,000 cars on railroad sidings too long within the first 6 months alone, for which they had to pay a penalty of almost Kcs 72 million. [Text] [Prague PRACE in Czech 6 Sep 78 p 3]

CSO: 2400


EAST GERMANY

DISSIDENT HAVEMANN DISCUSSES VIEWS, POLICE SURVEILLANCE

Copenhagen POLITIKEN in Danish 12 Aug 78 Section II pp 5, 6

[Letter by Robert Havemann to Amnesty International, Denmark]

[Text] Group 49 is a section of Amnesty International in Denmark. It is in touch with the East German natural scientist, philosopher and critic of the system, Robert Havemann, who sent the group the letter printed below which gives a vivid description of the current circumstances of the former professor.

Portrait of Robert Havemann

"Freedom of speech is genuine only if it is used to defend freedom of speech."

The sentence derives from Robert Havemann (born in 1910), the East German philosopher, scientist and critic of the system, Wolf Biermann's friend and fellow believer, who for years has been unable to speak out and has had to use Western channels to present his works and statements.

He himself has tried to live up to the sentence quoted above -- because he never believed it was good socialism to echo socialist leaders. The result? That is apparent from the article.

Back in 1966 Havemann's "Dialectics Without Dogma" was published here with an introduction by Willy Sorensen. Drawing on scientific experience Havemann argued that dialectical materialism must develop, renew itself in accordance with the expansion of modern knowledge. But this requires a disengagement process.

It is ideas like this that led his students -- and there were many of them as long as he was permitted to teach -- to call him the Galileo of communism. The world is constantly developing and this process cannot be stopped. The only people who don't know that are those in power in the GDR.

It is clear that if one feels that the GDR still has a revolution ahead of it, personal opinions must be suppressed. It is clear that if one feels that the power of the people over the economy is not enough, that a real political democracy is needed in order to make socialism humane, then one will have a police escort at all times. The same thing is true if one regards the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 as a crime -- or if, on the other hand, one regards Eurocommunism as attractive.

As a young man -- he was a promising chemist in his youth -- he was persecuted by the Nazis and in 1943 he was condemned to death, a sentence that was changed at the last minute. After the war when he was employed at what would later be the Max Planck Institute he was persecuted by the Americans for his Marxist views. It was on that occasion that he left West Germany to accept a chair at Humboldt University in East Berlin. He has been removed from this position, as he has been from all other posts and functions.

Havemann's Letter

## Dear Group 49:

Please excuse me for not having replied earlier to your friendly letter telling me what your group has done to help me in my difficult situation. I am convinced that the activities of Amnesty International have been very effective in restraining the arbitrary actions of the authorities. Political dissidents in many countries are subjected to unlawful and illegal moves on the part of state bodies, a fact that the governments of these states do everything in their power to keep secret. For these moves are not a sign of their strength but, on the contrary, often an indication of their inability to publicly discuss the criticism directed against them. These regimes shun the glare of publicity. When they take their critics to court, the public is excluded. Instead, the courtrooms are filled with selected people from the secret police acting as "common people."

Therefore one of the most important ways of overcoming these conditions from the Middle Ages is to publicize as much as possible every instance of injustice and suppression, unlawful persecution and deprivation of freedom. Amnesty International has already contributed greatly to this effort.

My personal circumstances represent what might be called a "light" case with regard to the steps taken against me. I am not sitting in jail, at least not behind the walls. I am not being physically tortured or threatened with death. Instead they have implemented a complex system of political moves, the true purpose of which is unclear -- since November 1976, in other words for almost 2 years, my house in Grunheide has been surrounded on all sides by the police. At a distance of a hundred meters on

either side of my house on Burgwallgade there is a barricade of radio police cars and big container trucks which force every car that is permitted to drive by to pass through a slalom course. At each barricade two policemen are posted to check people's papers. In the "area of the police barricade," as it is known officially, only people living on the street and their visitors are permitted entrance by the police. In my case, only my closest relatives, the minister and his family, my doctor and a neighbor are allowed in. All the police are equipped with walkie-talkies.

Strangely enough, however, the point of these measures is not to shut me up in my house. I can leave the house at any time without being bothered, even when I take my car. I can drive to (East) Berlin and to other towns near Grunheide which is around 10 km southeast of the Berlin city limits. Our house is near a lake which is connected with all the lakes lying I can move around on these lakes in my little motorboat around Berlin. without being checked. It is true that on all these trips I am accompanied by cars from the "state security service" (STASI) and on the boat trips also by a very fast motorboat with a two-man crew. The cars circle the lakes. They also permit me to take longer trips outside these areas around Berlin, although only when these involve visits to close relatives, I must admit. On all these trips the STASI cars follow me and my wife -at least two for each of us. In other words, when we drive alone there are two or three, when we drive together there are four or five, often as many as six. The third or the fifth car, as the case may be, belongs to the "chief." He usually drives alone, while there are three or four people in the other cars.

It is an odd sight when we slowly drive off with our cortege of followers. To the irritation of our guards many people passing by in Grunheide and the vicinity wave a friendly greeting to us. We are served before anyone else in shops and none of the other customers are offended. The fear many people originally had of the STASI men and the surveillance people has long since disappeared. Most people laugh at these peculiar civil servants who chase after us like small dogs and even come into stores when my wife is shopping.

On my trips to Berlin, it is evidently the job of my STASI followers to prevent me from meeting West Germans or foreigners. Of course they are not always successful. But with few exceptions West Germans or West Berliners known by STASI to have met with me are not permitted to visit East Berlin or the GDR later on. One of my acquaintances in Berlin whose telephone I had used to call up friends in the west has had his telephone service interrupted regularly as long as I am in the house. (My own telephone was disconnected in November 1976 after the GDR writers' protest of the expulsion of my friend, Wolf Biermann.)

Thus I am being prevented from coming in personal contact with the Western friends who share my political opinions or are at least interested in

them. It is obvious that I cannot be prevented from publishing things in the West in this way. But apparently that is not what they are trying to accomplish. The real purpose is quite simply massive psychological terror. Through this they would like to make me abandon my opposition and voluntarily leave the GDR. Any means are to be used to make me sick and tired of the German Democratic Republic.

However I simply do not identify the GDR with the people in power here and now, especially in view of the consideration that they owe their power position to the absurdities of the East-West conflict and certainly not to the approval of the people.

I did not emigrate in the Nazi period either but took part in the antifascist resistance. I could do that at the time because the Nazis were not aware of my political orientation, a prerequisite for illegal political activity. Today I can operate politically in an open and legal way since not only my former comrades in the Politburo but everybody at all interested in political questions in the GDR (parenthetically, I would like to note that this is a much higher percentage of the population than is the case in the Federal Republic) is quite well-informed as to my views. And one of these views is that I still believe, as I did before, that in spite of all the deplorable symptoms in the political and social life of the GDR we are much closer to our goal, socialism, than the big countries in the late capitalistic period.

But it goes without saying that any progress in the struggle for freedom and democracy in the camp of so-called "real socialism" will increase confidence in the socialists in Western nations. We found that out 10 years ago when the "Prague spring" fascinated and activated young people and workers in France and many other Western countries. This made the effects of the intervention even worse.

It is generally known that things don't last forever, on the contrary, things move, flow and one cannot bathe twice in the same stream as Heraclitus of Epheseus, so highly esteemed by Marxist classicists, learned in his day. In the same way, the conditions and power balance currently existing in the GDR and elsewhere will not last forever. At some point "real socialism" will venture to take the first step toward "true" socialism without retracting and without being prevented from doing so by the use of physical force on the part of its own "brothers." We critics of the system would like to help out in making this decisive step forward occur sooner and more easily.

The help of your organization, Amnesty International, has already proven a valuable and effective aid in this direction.

Dear friends and members of Group 49, Amnesty International in Copenhagen, this is quite a long letter. But that happens when one waits as long as I have to reply.

I wish you and your work for freedom continued success and good luck.

Warmest greetings, Robert Havemann.

6578

EAST GERMANY

EAST BERLIN FOREIGN AFFAIRS JOURNAL ANALYZES U.S. NEAR EAST POLICY

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 23 No 7, Jul 78 signed to press 14 Jun 78 pp 39-51

[Article by Dr Angelika Bator, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "Balance Sheet of Carter Administration's Near East Policy--New Factors in the Foreign Policy Concept"]

[Text] The new American Government's first year in office brought a revaluation and correction of U.S.foreign political priorities and conceptions. Relative to its international role the United States endeavors more flexibly to deploy the leadership opportunities remaining to it by virtue of its scientific-technological and ideological potential. The Carter Administration made a point of carrying out the further adjustment of U.S.foreign policy to the new reality arising from shifting world power relations and "accepting the global changes as a real fact while attempting to guide them in a constructive direction coinciding with and acceptable to American values and American interests."

At the same time the Carter Administration was bound to uphold the main targets of foreign political conceptions from the first half of the 1970's, when the attitudes of leading U.S. forces to the basic problems of American foreign policy were defined. The current government therefore strove to achieve such revaluations of foreign political conceptions, which served more precisely to outline the politico-ideological class framework for the choice of alternatives in actual situations, so as to give due priority to the realization of important long-range interests.

In this context its orientation was toward differentiated cooperation with the socialist countries as well as the promotion of a policy of multilateral aliances with long-standing as well as new partners of the United States. While the "triangular" relationship between the imperialist power centers United States/Western Europe/Japan was to retain its vital importance, other allies were to be recruited for America. President Carter, for example, stated:

"We can no longer carry on a policy entirely for the benefit of the industrial nations as the basis of global stability; instead we must take note of the new facts of a politically awakening world. We can no longer expect the other 150 nations to follow the dictates of the powers; instead we must confidently proceed with our efforts to inspire, persuade and lead."<sup>2</sup>

The United States regards as the most prominent area of crisis in the coming 10-15 years not only the Middle East but the entire region between the Eastern Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, including the Near Eastern, Mideastern and African countries bordering these oceans, down to southern Africa. The entire area is highly significant in the long-range plans of U.S.imperialism, because:

- -- Firstly this region is of political and military importance for the global conflict of systems between the United States and the USSR;
- -- Secondly the largest known reserves of oil, platinum, chromium and other raw materials are located in this region;
- -- Thirdly the complex and contradictory social, economic and political development of the region results in the accumulation of internal conflicts which produce a latent instability for the capitalist system.

The conflict in the Near East, especially, is to be guided as soon as possible in a direction acceptable to U.S.imperialism, and the balance of power shifted in favor of imperialist goals in this region. Dictated by the class interests of the U.S.monopolies, the chief long-range military and economic targets of American Near East policy have remained the same for the Carter Administration as for previous American Governments:

- -- To be prevented is the further advance of the progressive forces in this region and the deepening of their cooperation with the forces of socialism; to be encouraged is any development in the direction of capitalism;
- -- The long-range flow of Mideastern oil is to be assured for the capitalist economic system.
- U.S.interests in the military as well as the economic sector have grown substantially after the 1973 Arab-Israeli War. American business circles, for example, expect that annual U.S. exports to 18 Arab countries will achieve \$10 billion before 1980, and that in the mid-1980's 60-70 percent of American oil imports will come from the Arab OPEC countries. 3

These expectations have such immense strategic significance for the United States that it is not willing to allow a socio-political upheaval in the region. In the opinion of the Carter Administration a new military conflict in the area would be unlikely to be contained and thus imperil the so-called vital interests of the United States. It therefore deems it imperative to devote greater attention to diplomatic activity in this region.

At the same time more acute clashes are expected between the United States on the one hand and its allies in Western Europe and Japan on the other. In recent years American monopolies have encountered growing competition from West European countries on the markets of the Near and Mid Eastern oil producers. Surplus petrodollars have increasingly been invested in Britain and other West European countries.<sup>4</sup> This is a development which has considerably furthered the exacerbation of interimperialist conflicts in the entire region.

According to the Carter Administration's advisers a flexible policy of "encirclement" of and "checks" to anti-imperialist forces is to be used in the area including the countries bordering the Eastern Mediterranean, the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean. This policy is also "permanently to tie" those political forces to the capitalist system, which are prepared for cooperation with the United States. So as to neutralize the advance to economic independence (which had begun in some countries of the region) and get hold of the levers enabling it to influence the politicomilitary situation on the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, the United States intensified its alliance with pro-American leaders. 5

Saudi Arabia, especially, was used as an intermediary for financing the "aid" promised Egypt to help its pro-imperialist economic line of the "open door." By this means the United States combined payments for U.S.loans, merchandise, technologies and services with the return of petrodollars, while exploiting the wealth of the oil producing countries for its anti-Soviet aims. Saudi Arabia pumped \$2.5 billion annually into the Egyptian economy. These moneys were given with the express purpose of "withdrawing a key Arab country from Soviet influence." In 1976 the Saudi Arabian Government spent \$4.7 billion on "aid" to try and consolidate its influence on other Arab countries; Saudi relations with some countries on the Horn of Africa and in southern Asia were strengthened for the same reason.

Referring to the military build-up of Saudi Arabia, U.S.NEWS AND WORLD REPORT wrote on 17 April 1978:

"The heart of the American military presence in Saudi Arabia is the mission headed by Air Force Brigadier C. Cathey. Some 250 uniformed U.S.advisers are training Saudi Arabian officers in a broad spectrum of operations. ..."

The work of this mission is part and parcel of the total American investment project which, in the course of the next 10 years, will amount to at least \$17 billion. The U.S.interest in using Iran's military potential for its purposes was expressed by President Carter on the occasion of his December 1977 visit to Teheran. He said: "There is no country closer to us with respect to programming our mutual military security."

The imperialist plans to "encircle" the area of the "chief conflict," that is between the Eastern Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, also involve the Republic of South Africa. Here 350 American corporations have invested some

\$2 billion. They include such influential giant monopolies as General Motors, Ford, Standard Oil of California, ITT, General Electric and others. Though the U.S.Department of State felt compelled to say that the United States will not provide military "aid" to the Republic of South Africa, the Pentagon and the American arms monopolies found other ways and means. By selling licences to Jsrael for the production of American weapons, military relations between the Israeli Government and the Republic of South Africa were strengthened. In the period 1973-1976 the two governments signed some agreements on military cooperation, so that the Republic of South Africa is currently one of the chief customers for Israeli arms production. In November 1977, for example, Pretoria placed an order in Tel Aviv for six rocket carrier ships, three of which have already been delivered.

## The Carter Government's Negotiating Tactics

Upon reactivating the negotiations for a resolution of the Middle East conflict the Carter Government aimed to broaden its alliances with the Arab countries of the Near East, initially confined to Israel, Saudi Arabia and Jordan. It displayed great flexibility in its exploitation of the new opportunities for anticommunist and anti-Soviet agreements with leading circles in the region, especially with the leadership of the Arab Republic of Egypt. In the opinion of the Carter Administration conditions had improved for a wider formal or informal alliance of U.S. imperialism with the reactionary forces of this region.

By concentrating on lessening cooperation between the forces of socialism and those of the national liberation movements, the United States hoped to encourage the instability of the attitudes of other progressive Arab forces in order ultimately to carry its imperialist interests in vital matters concerning the resolution of the Near East conflict.

President Carter and his foreign policy advisers had resolved from the outset on keeping American efforts in the Near East at a high level. The President was to be personally active in the negotiation of a compromise between the Mideastern countries involved in the conflict. As early as his election campaign President Carter undertook a kind of obligation to achieve in 1977 the convocation of the Near East peace conference and "a comprehensive peaceful settlement." In his first year in office Carter devoted the lion's share of his foreign political operations to the resolution of the Near East conflict. His journey at the turn of the year was dominated by the Near and Middle East.

The Carter Government considered a favorable condition for its Near East operations the official readiness of the so-called moderate leadership in Egypt and Jordan for entering into negotiations and striving for a compromise within which the rights of Palestinians would be taken into account. The U.S.Government claimed to have "gained the confidence of both parties by its mediation in the resolution of several matters affecting the Near East settlement" and "to be able to help settle the conflict at this stage."

Replacing the efforts of former U.S.Governments to achieve an all-round agreement by the accumulation of part settlements, President Carter's early Mideast actions aimed at a comprehensive agreement to be followed by detailed measures. The "all-encompassing settlement" was to be based on the following principles which had governed the substance of the June 1970 "Rogers plan" and the study published in 1975 by a special research group of the Brooking Institute:

- -- Arab assent to a specific "contractual peace" with Israel in exchange for the far reaching evacuation of the territories occupied by Israel;
- -- Agreement on the determination of advanced "lines of defense" and "legalized borders" for Israel;
- -- Provision of a "homeland" for the Palestinians.

These concepts were put forward at a time when, thanks to the active role of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries broad circles among the Arab peoples recognized more and more clearly that the key issues of the Mideast problem—the evacuation of all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the assurance of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine—can be settled only by way of the Geneva Conference. The progressive and peace forces in the Arab region as a whole as well as in other parts of the world therefore increasingly emphasized the need to reconvene the Geneva Near East peace conference. This trend which, in the final analysis, reflects the profound longing for peace of the Arab peoples, had to be taken into consideration by the Carter Administration.

Issued on 2 October 1977 was a joint Soviet-American statement on the Middle East. This renewed both countries affirmation on the need to cooperate in reconvening the Geneva Conference and represented an important step forward in the matter of a comprehensive solution. It was of particular significance that, for the first time, the United States agreed in the text of the declaration that the assurance of the "legitimate rights of the Palestinian people" was a key issue. Earlier Washington had talked only vaguely of "considering the interests" of the Palestinians. Now the United States was prepared to include in the joint Soviet-American declaration certain formulas on the attendance at the Geneva Conference of the representatives of all parties involved in the conflict, including the Palestinian people.

In subsequent weeks, however, it quickly emerged that the United States aimed to use this declaration merely to camouflage its machinations. That country continued to be quite uninterested in arriving at a permanent peaceful resolution of the key issues involved in the Near East, to the benefit of all peoples living there. In fact, statements made by the Carter Government indicated that all resources available to the United States were to be used to achieve a so-called consensus between the "moderate" forces among the parties involved in the Mideast conflict. In an interview entitled "After 100 Days in Office" Carter already stated:

"Once I see that the settlement is fair, I will not hesitate to employ all the power of our country to bring these nations to agreement. I know that we cannot pressure or directly compel anybody to agree to a settlement; but what we can do is the following: ...We now appear to have a constellation of moderate leaders in the Near East, who acknowledge our leadership as fair...We are therefore now acting more or less as the channel of communications between the countries, and we are able to motivate the countries to somewhat moderate their attitudes. I believe this our present stance to be very important." 10

# Agreement Between Carter and Sadat

In the course of 1977 a situation emerged in Egypt, which was characterized by a profound internal, financial and economic crisis. 11 Anticommunism gained the upper hand in the governing circles. This attitude of Egypt's leading forces was exploited by the Carter Government for operations benefiting the far reaching coordination in the approach to the resolution of the Mideast conflict in the imperialist interest.

The Egyptian president's official state visit to Israel in November 1977 aroused widespread concern and indignation in the Arab world. Official personalities and the press of various Arab countries judged it a separatist step, harming Arab unity in the struggle against imperialism and Israeli aggression, and weakening Arab positions.

Summit conferences of progressive Arab countries and the PLO took place in Tripoli and Algiers. As a result of the Tripoli Conference, a "steadfast front" emerged, which joined the progressive countries represented at the conference and the PLO in unity of action in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

With regard to the results of the Begin-Sadat talks, the Communist Party of Israel issued an opinion--also widely held in Arab countries--that these negotiations carried on in coordination with the Carter Government "did not aim for the recall of the Geneva Conference but (would) prevent it," that "it did not orient to an acceptable settlement of the Israel-Arab conflict and the Palestinian question but (would) prevent such a settlement. "lla"

To prevent the Egyptian leadership from being isolated and encourage the achievement of a broad pro-imperialist alliance in the Near East, the American President intimated after the Sadat-Begin meeting that "we are trying to motivate the Syrians, Lebanese and Jordanians to support the negotiations now in progress, which began in Jerusalem and are being pursued in Cairo; and also that they should not condemn Sadat because this would undermine his position. We have begun to exert all possible influence to prevent other Arab countries from denouncing President Sadat." For the Carter Government it was more important to implie other Arab leaders in a pro-American and anti-Soviet alliance than to achieve the conclusion of a separate Israeli-Egyptian agreement.

However, the American Secretary of State's efforts at mediation, put forward on the occasion of his visits to Damascus, Amman and Riyadh in the wake of the Sadat-Begin meeting did not achieve the desired success. The governments of these Arab countries could not be moved toward involved in the Israeli-Egyptian negotiations. Even the Saudis answered Vance as follows:

"The Arabs have gone to the utmost limit to prove their peaceful intentions. Now it is the turn of Israel."  $^{13}$ 

Disregarding this rejection the U.S.Government's political actions continued to pursue the achievement of an interregional agreement, a "consensus" of the parties involved in the Near East conflict. The Carter Government assumed that United States political influence on these governments could be increased by a further reinforcement of military relations.

American Zionists failed in their efforts by pressure on Members of Congress to prevent the sale of modern American fighter aircraft to Saudi Arabia. In this case the President's arguments prevailed. The wishes of the Saudi and Egyptian Governments could be satisfied without jeopardizing Israel's aerial superiority, because that country will receive more and more modern American aircraft (15 F-15 interceptors and 75 F-16 fighter bombers). Saudi Arabia will obtain 60 of the most modern jet fighters type F-15, Egypt 50 fighter bombers type F-5E.

In order to strengthen Sadat's pro-American opinions and expand the opportunities for agreement with other Arab leaders, the Carter Administration began intensively to press the Israeli Government to assume a more flexible attitude on the key issues of the Mideast negotiations.

Tactical Differences Between the Leaders of the United States and Israel

The Carter Government's increasing emphasis on the need for Israel to adopt a more flexible line resulted in differences of opinion between the Israeli and American Governments. This caused the "Israel lobby" in the United States to enter the fray. It accused the White House of "reneging" and threatened President Carter by claiming that he would not be able to expect reelection in 1980 and would meet the strongest resistance in the Congress to any proposals for settling the Mideast conflict, unless he were prepared to extend total support to Israel. The Carter Government was reminded of Secretary Kissinger's experience, when he tried to compel Israel to adopt a more flexible line in negotiations with Egypt by imposing a temporary ban on deliveries of military materiel. At that time the Senate called for an official government statement to the effect that the United States would continue to be fully responsible for satisfying Israel's military and economic needs, and that even a shift in U.S.Mideast policy would not change anything with regard to this principle. 14

At a hearing of the House Foreign Relations Committee Under Secretary Atherton hastened to state the following:

"In its talks with the leaders of Israel and the key Arab countries the United States has plainly indicated that it has a special responsibility for Israel's security... This obligation is a firm element of American policy." 15

Secretary Vance assured the American press that a more flexible Israeli approach to the settlement of the Near East conflict—in agreement with the interests of the American monopoly bourgeoisie—would be safeguarded by military guarantees. He indicated that the Carter Government was prepared to guarantee not only a peace treaty negotiated with the consent of the parties involved but also to include in such a guarantee a bilateral military treaty with Israel.16

In this context the British press expressed the expectation that the United States intended to follow the conclusion of a peace treaty with Egypt by assuming control of the air bases of Etzion and Eytam, built by Israel on the Sinai Peninsula. The U.S.Air Force would thereby secure the opportunity of carrying out military missions from these bases in the Red Sea region and the Arab Peninsula. 17

Lately U.S.deliveries of military materiel to Israel have risen yet again, independent of the tactical shifts in U.S.Mideast policy. In the last 10 years materiel to the value of \$4.2 billion has been supplied to Israel; most of it after the 1973 war.

Under Secretary Warren's speech to the San Francisco Convention of the Union of Hebrew Congregations also demonstrated that U.S. conceptions for the settlement of the Near East conflict do not differ from those of leading Israelis. Indeed, these conceptions aim at general statements without involving definite proposals for the key issues of the Mideast conflict, the Palestine problem and the withdrawal of Israeli forces.

"Our goal in the Middle East," said Christopher Warren, "is peace to the following effect: Open frontiers, normal trade and tourism, open communications, diplomatic relations...Contacts at all official and unofficial levels, free shipping through the waterways and an end to any boycott, secure and recognized borders supported and guaranteed by security treaties to be agreed by the parties..."18

These demands by the American Secretary of State support the plans of Israeli capitalists who wish to extend their trade operations to the Arab markets and make Israel an exporter of modern technology. The above quoted peace aims are to effect the revitalization of the Israeli economy and the removal of the dangerous economic crisis. Prime Minister Begin lent official support to such plans and emphasized the benefits which would accrue to the Arab countries from the combination of Israeli technology and the profits derived from the vast raw material reserves held by the Arab countries. 19

The United States endeavors to stabilize the situation in the Near East, not least in view of the troubling domestic developments in Israel. The American leadership is concerned about the rising inflation there, which now stands at 30 percent, and also about the growing internal opposition to the Israeli Government's expansionist policy.

With the watchword "better peace without the occupied territories than occupied territories without peace" 348 officers of frontline reserve units, including much decorated Israelis, dared accuse the Israeli Government of pursuing a policy inherent in which is the danger of another war. Their action was demonstratively welcomed by tens of thousands of Israeli citizens of all political persuasions, although the government tried everything in its power to stifle all criticism by chauvinistic outbursts. Last March the Israeli Institute of Public Opinion published the results of a poll according to which only 60 percent of those polled supported Begin's policy. That signalized a decline in his popularity.

According to reports by international news agencies, Z. Brzesinski, President Carter's security adviser, was quite justified in saying that the "devastating moral effects of this crisis atmosphere will destroy the viability of the (Israeli--author's note) society, should the stalemate continue."

Not least in the interest of reducing its differences with the Israeli Government, the Carter Administration openly turned against the demand steadfastly supported by progressive Arab forces and the USSR--to involve PLO representatives in the negotiations. At the end of December 1977, for example, the American President claimed "...that the PLO is maintaining a completely negative attitude" to all peace initiatives and thus excluded itself from "any immediate opportunity for attending" the peace negotiations. At the same time an effort was made to split the Palestinian movement and recruit so-called moderate representatives of the Palestinians residing on the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip for the official support of Sadat's initiative and the American proposal for settling the Mideast conflict.

Further clarifying the term "Palestinian homeland" in accordance with U.S.interests<sup>20</sup> Carter stated that he "had never tried to define geographic borders for a so-called Palestinian unit." In his opinion, though, such a unit should be "tied to Jordan and not independent."<sup>21</sup> This rejection of an independent Palestinian state was justified by claiming that this would be tantamount to the creation of a new "radical" nation in an already unsettled Near East. At the same time, though, the American President left open the possibility that his Government might support other settlements negotiated by Israel.

The Carter Government's approach to the key issue of the Mideast conflict clearly showed that, in agreement with the Israeli Government, the final settlement of the Palestine problem was to be adjourned for an indefinite period. The United States obviously hopes that a further rapprochement between imperialist concepts and those of the "moderate Palestinians" can be achieved and the creation of an independent Palestinian nation avoided.

Instead a "Palestinian homeland" is to emerge, which--given limited auto-nomy--would join with either Israel or Jordan.

Although, according to American and other press reports, strident disputes occurred between the American Administration and Israel, a closer scrutiny of the statements by U.S.Government spokesmen shows that these do not involve differences about basic strategic issues between the Carter Government and the Israeli Government. In past decades the links between economic and military interests in the United States and Israel have become so pervasive that leading U.S.circles neither can nor wish to end the alliance. The U.S. monopolies profit from the sale of their products on Near Eastern markets; they supply especially enormous quantities of weapons to Israel as well as to Arab and other countries in the Near and Middle East. and raw material deliveries to the capitalist economic system are to be secured in the long term, and the return of petrodollars used profitably. To safeguard these many interests of the U.S. monopolies, the U.S. and Israeli Governments strive better to coordinate their various steps with the aim of achieving a settlement of the Mideast conflict, which best responds to the class interests of the leading forces in the United States and Israel. In an interview with the SUNDAY TIMES of 30 April 1978 President Carter stated that "there is no need for Israel to doubt us. We keep our word. We have never broken our word to Israel."

In its negotiations with the Israeli Government, intensified since early 1978, the United States made every effort to encourage that government in a more flexible attitude and achieve far reaching agreement with the Carter-Sadat declaration propounded in Aswan, which emphasized three main issues: First the conclusion of a series of peace treaties between Israel and its neighbors; second Israel's withdrawal with corrections "in the interest of Israeli security"; and third the creation of a so-called Palestinian homeland. In the interview mentioned before, President Carter said quite frankly:

"I have never advocated an independent Palestinian state...In my opinion a final settlement does not include an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank...In my opinion a final settlement does not call for Israel's complete withdrawal from the occupied territories. In my opinion a final settlement will largely be based on Begin's proposal of self-government..."

In view of the hardening of the Begin Government's attitude, the United States returned in this stage of the negotiations to the earlier tactic of "quiet diplomacy" and, at least temporarily, gave up its earlier attempt to achieve a "comprehensive agreement."

The next step toward a partial settlement of the Mideast conflict was the endeavor to obtain a so-called declaration of principles from Israel. By this tactic the Carter Government aimed to:

-- Avoid the recall of the Geneva Conference including the USSR and all parties involved in the conflict;

- -- Try to prevent the USSR from participating in a Mideast settlement while, subsequently, urging USSR recognition of imperialist constructions;
- -- Fix the next partial steps for the settlement of the Mideast conflict on an imperialist basis by publishing general statements on the issue of the withdrawal of Israeli forces and the Palestine problem;
- -- Undermine politically and destroy militarily the PLO to the point that it is willing to accept an American sponsored Mideast settlement;
- -- Consolidate President Sadat's powers and thereby safeguard Egypt's pursuit of a pro-Western line;
- -- Obtain the inclusion of Jordan in the negotiations with Israel and thereby the expansion of the scope of pro-American Arab leaders;
- -- Isolate those Arab countries which are members of the "rejection front" of Israeli-American-Egyptian negotiating tactics.

So far the Carter Government has been unable to settle the key issues by the policy it has pursued in the Near East. Instead the situation has become more complex and more explosive.

Here we see the significance of the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab peoples. The proposals consistently championed by the socialist countries, especially the USSR--that is Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied after 1967, the right of all nations in the region to independence and security as well as the guarantee of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to self-determination and the creation of its own state--provide a clear and effective conception for a just and permanent settlement of the Near East conflict.

#### **FOOTNOTES**

- "Rising Debate over Carter's Global Goals. How Brzesinski Responds to Criticism of Post-Kissinger Policy," BUSINESS WEEK, New York, 12 September 1977 (no page number available); see also V.F. Petrovskiy, "O Sovremennykh Vnezhnepoliticheskish Conceptsiyakh SShA," SSHA, Moscow 1977, No 8, pp 9-20.
- 2. J. Carter, "A Foreign Policy Based on America's Essential Character," DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN, Washington, 13 June 1977, p 622.
- 3. N. Turck, "The Arab Boycott of Israel," FOREIGN AFFAIRS, New York, April 1977, p 485; D.H. Rustow, "U.S.-Saudi Relations and the Oil Crisis of the 1980's," FOREIGN AFFAIRS, New York, April 1977, p 413.

4. According to reports published by the Bank of England, the oil producing Arab countries invested their excess petrodollars as follows (in billion U.S.dollars):

	1976	First Quarter 1977
in Britain in the United States in the EC countries	11.8 18 19.3	2.4 3.5 3.9

see ARCHIV DER GEGENWART, Bonn, 11 August 1977, p 21179.

- 5. After Israel and Iran, Saudi Arabia is the Near Eastern ally of the United States, with whom military and economic-financial links are closest. In 1977 the exports of U.S.monopolies to Saudi Arabia already exceeded the 3 billion limit. See U.S.NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, Washington, 25 July 1977, p 57.
- 6. NEWSWEEK, New York, 6 March 1978, p 19.
- 7. Ibid, p 20.
- 8. LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, Paris, January 1978, p 7.
- 9. "The Production of Peace in the Near East. Study by the Brooking Institute," December 1975; quoted according to V. Matyash, TASS correspondent in Washington.
- Interview with President Carter, quoted by ADN, Berlin, 3 May 1977, p 12.
- 11. The development of American-Egyptian economic relations failed to meet the expectations of the Egyptian Government. The prerequisite demanded for the removal of the hesitations of American capital to invest in Egypt was the stabilization of the situation in that country. In October 1976 a treaty was concluded between the United States and Egypt, guaranteeing that no American capital may be confiscated in Egypt. In February 1977 Egyptian and United States representatives concluded an agreement on the modernization of the Cairo and Alexandria electricity networks to the tune of \$80 million.
- 11a.INFORMATION BULLETIN, Communist Party of Israel, Tel Aviv 1977, No 12, p 11.
- 12. TASS, Washington, 1 December 1977.
- 13. NEWSWEEK, New York, 2 January 1978, p 6.
- 14. G.W. Ball, "How to Save Israel In Spite of Herself," FOREIGN AFFAIRS, New York, April 1977, p 471.

- 15. "Department Discusses U.S.Efforts in Search for Middle East Peace," DEPARTMENT OF STATE BULLETIN, Washington, 4 July 1977, p 26.
- 16. "Where U.S. is Gaining in the World," Interview with C.R. Vance, U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, Washington, 7 November 1977, p 29.
- 17. "Israeli Calculations," FOREIGN REPORT, London, 1 March 1978.
- 18. C. Warren (Under Secretary of State), Speech to the Convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in San Francisco, Telex manuscript, San Francisco, 22 November 1977.
- 19. "The Middle East," London, February 1978, pp 24f.
- 20. In March 1977 President Carter first used the term "homeland" for Palestinian refugees and stated that the "creation of a homeland for Palestinian refugees is the prerequisite for peace in the Middle East."
- 21. U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, Washington, 25 July 1977, p 59.

EAST GERMANY

#### BRIEFS

ETHIOPIAN SPORTS DELEGATION VISITS—Berlin—An Ethiopian delegation led by Y. Tessema, member of the International Olympic Committee, ended its 1—week visit to the GDR. On the invitation of the German Gymnastics and Sports Federation [DTSB] it visited Berlin, Dresden and Leipzig, and studied the organization and financing of sports associations. They also visited the German Academy for Physical Culture in Leipzig where Ethiopian students are currently undergoing training. During their GDR visit, a protocol on the further shaping of sports relations between Ethiopia and the GDR was prepared. The protocol is due to be signed in Addis Ababa in November. In this connection, DTSB president Manfred Ewald discussed with the guests the work of GDR specialists in Ethiopia, the availability of study places at the physical culture academy and the exchange of sports teams. [Text] [East Berlin ADN international service in German 1132 GMT 30 Aug 78 LD]

FDGB SHIPMENT FOR PALESTINE—Berlin [ADN]—The FDGB Federal Executive has dispatched to the Palestinian Trade Union Federation a solidarity shipment worth M100,000 for the Palestinian populace affected by the Israeli aggression. The shipment primarily consists of blankets, medical appliances and sportswear. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Aug 78 p 2 AU]

PRC POLICY SAID TO THREATEN POLAND'S INTERESTS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Sep 78 p 2 AU

[Jerzy Lobman article: "The PRC Leadership's Policy--At Odds With Poland's Interests"]

[Text] Of the numerous aspects of the Peking leadership's anti-Marxist, nationalist and chauvinist policy three appear to be particularly negative; the obsessive hostility toward the socialist community and its largest state, the Soviet Union; counting on a world war, and the search for rapprochement and, actually, for alliance with the most conservative, reactionary forces in the world.

The PRC leadership has made anti-sovietism and the attacks against the socialist states the main line of its foreign policy. Whether at the forums of international organizations or in the course of bilateral relations with various states, opposition to all proposals and actions sponsored by the states of our community has become one of the main points of the PRC representatives' activities. They do not restrict themselves just to opposing our states' initiatives, but try to exert pressure on their various partners along the lines undermining these partners' bilateral relations with our countries, and publicly criticize the bilateral economic and political accords concluded with the socialist states, thus evidently violating every state's sovereign right to develop its relations in consonance with its interests and plans. They also play the role of intriguers and troublemakers in international relations who are chiefly interested in spoiling the various countries' relations with the states of the consolidated socialist system.

This policy, which had already been pursued for a long time, was officially proclaimed by the new PRC constitution adopted on 5 March of this year. The preamble of this document states that the PRC should unite with all countries the PRC believes are threatened by "social imperialism" and by imperialism "in order to set up the broadest possible international homogeneous front against the hegemonism of the superpowers..." The very invention

of the team "social imperialism" (a self-contradicting term) and alining it with imperialism tells us enough about the views of the constitution's authors, who call themselves communists.

But from other statements made by official PRC personages we know that a further interpretation of the aforementioned formulations leaves the USSR and the socialist countries as the only target for attacks by that "united front" led by the PRC, a front of which the CCP leaders are dreaming. In his speech at the first session of the Chinese parliament's fifth term, CCP Chairman Hua Kuo-feng said that China and the United States "have much in common in their views on the various problems of the present international situation. He also stated: "We support the West European countries in their efforts to achieve unity against hegemonism and we hope that Europe will become united and powerful. We also hope that we will see closer contacts among the countries of the second and third worlds."

If to these statements we add the recent treaty of peace and friendship with a conservative Japanese government, we will see that, having excluded the United States, Western Europe and Japan [from the term "imperialism"], the term imperialism becomes a purely abstract idea. What remains to be done is to map out, in keeping with the constitution, the tasks of the struggle against the USSR and the countries of the socialist community, to which the PRC political language applies the cryptonym of hegemonism.

We should bear in mind that the present governments of the large capitalist countries are often too "appeasing" in the eyes of the PRC leadership. Hua Kuo-feng's aforementioned speech criticized "some people in the West who are following an appeasement policy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union" (this time the Soviet Union was mentioned by name). Peking applies the term "appeasement policy" to an entire host of political activities in the past few years aimed at promoting detente and at preventing war. Peking looks for its true friends on the right wing of governments. It looks for them among the most conservative British politicians such as Edward Heath or Mrs Thatcher and, of course, CSU leader Franz-Josef Strauss and his party colleagues. It also looks for them among various old Hitlerite generals, including Von Kielmansegg, whom we know only too well in our country. Peking not only gives rapturous welcomes to these people, but has often declared its support for their plans, including revisionist plans.

Maoist China's counting on war is also common knowledge. It goes without saying that Peking would prefer a war waged by other countries so that the adversaries, finally exhausted by bloodshed, would enable China to dictate its own conditions and to attain to the dreamt-of position of the only hegemonist superpower. At one time Mao Tse-tung called this process "sitting on the top of a mountain and watching how two tigers devour each other down below." But even the prospect of a war involving China has not frightened the Chinese state leadership. The very same had said that China's population is so large that in the case of nuclear war enough Chinese will remain to construct a new, magnificent world on former ruins.

One does not know whether this is cynicism and anti-humanism or the inability to understand the quality and range of the modern weapons of mass destruction. The PRC's antipeace and antidentente activities are also expressed in "theoretical" declarations. In the aforementioned parliamentary speech Hua Kuo-feng asserted that "war is inevitable" and that "making fools of people" is the only aim of those who proclaim detente and disarmament (these two terms are always written in quotes in China), Marshal Hsu Hsiangchen, CCP Politburo member and minister of national defense, stated recently in an official document that "war is a normal state of affairs." Other Chinese leaders have proclaimed that "the issue is when war will break out and not whether it will break out."

Regardless of the entire negative evaluation of the principles and aims professed by the Chinese leadership, is necessary to point out that the three aforementioned elements of PRC foreign policy strike a direct blow at our country's interests. By attacking the socialist community and the USSR, Chinese policy threatens not only our closest allies, but de facto the balance of power in Europe that for the first time in history has insured secure borders for us and is a guarantee of our peaceful work and development. Incidentally, the Chinese press has already launched direct attacks against our country. It has already published indiscriminate invectives and charges that Poland is a country in which "capitalism has been reconstructed."

Support for the aspirations of the Christian Democratic revisionists in the FRG, especially with regard to so-called German unification, is evidently spearheaded against our fundamental state interests—the integrity of our borders.

Finally, counting on war, on one which the Chinese expect to be waged above all in Europe, holds an unequivocal meaning for every Pole, especially today, during the days of the anniversary of our [1939] September battles. The memory of the 6 million murdered men and women is too close for us not to know that whoever calls for war threatens our most fundamental interests.

This is why all the Chinese views and activities represented today an unjust theory—unjust not only for us. We realize that these views and activities are threatening us directly.

POLAND

#### POSSIBILITY OF LIMITED NUCLEAR WAR DENIED

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 6-7-8-9 May 78 p 7

[Article by Tadeusz Pioro: "Controlled Cataclysm"]

[Text] Just how many of our country's citizens today could "go back in memory" to the last stage of World War II? A span of one generation separates us from that day, 33 years ago, which put an end to the greatest conflict in the world's history.

Will such a cataclysm be repeated at some future time? Nobody can predict that with any certainty. It is a matter beyond controversy, however, that societies forge for themselves the destiny that will fall to them as their lot in the history of mankind.

Different kinds of wars are without doubt a manifestation of the different degree of cultural development of societies, and of the different level of their civilization. Caesar's Roman legions with their artful tactics, the flocks of wild horses ridden by the Mongols or the winged flags of the Polish cavalry were all suited at one time to a specific political, social, and economic structure, and to a specific level of culture. Views about warfare kept changing under the influence of the leading great ideas which shaped the history of peoples and nations.

The military concepts of our century, adapting to different political notions were undergoing an evolution in keeping with the progress of civilization. The two world wars in which machine-made weapons and the combustion engine dictated the mode of operations on the battlefield, were governed by their own rules, while the doctrines which had been formulated for them were the result of the conditions in which today's world was evolving. Concurrently, Schlieffen's thesis, which appealed to many strategists—namely, that a war fought by armies of millions must be of brief duration because it could not last for a long time—had behind it a basic fallacy consisting in a poor estimate of human

endurance. The armies of millions had entailed an extraordinary mobilization of social resources, releasing hitherto unknown capacities for enduring a military cataclysm.

At present, however, the world's military potential has reached dimensions almost to the point of uselessness. Nuclear strategy does not have for its objective the increasing of its striking power; it aims rather at adapting the existing nuclear potential to its objectives and intentions, while seeking new channels for resolving armed conflicts, mainly with the help of technological solutions. And although the thesis on the possibility of destruction of the entire civilization is rather improbable, for there would always remain a trace of it in some corner of the earth—a trace thanks to which it would be possible to reconstruct its foundations—just the same, a general nuclear war could set back the progress of societies by hundreds of years during which it would be necessary to overcome fair—sized difficulties in order to attain the conditions prior to that war.

## Doctrinal Concepts

During the past few decades, a shift in the point of gravity on strategic objectives occurred with respect to concepts on the conduct of war.

Up to World War I, the objective of operations had been man and the army of the opponent. The entire effort of military operations was reduced to routing the enemy troops; and aiming at an encounter on the open battle-field dominated over all other military actions. World War I did not bring about much that was new in this respect. Although strategic concepts were already thoroughly modern, nations did not have at their disposal such means of warfare which would enable them to destroy the opponent beyond the nearest front lines. In bombarding Paris, "Big Bertha," of great range for those days, was more of a symbol of terror than a weapon bringing ruin to a city. In the deep hinterlands as well as in the frontline zone, life went on in a relatively normal manner; the limit to destructive gunfire was the range of artillery guns, and the frontline units were the targets of the attacks.

During World War II, the strategic effort was directed at man and his product, at the army, as well as at the rear installations. It became just as important to destroy the armed troops as the economic resources inside the country. Long-range aircraft brought new elements into the strategic concepts dealing with military operations. The destruction of munitions factories or of transportation junctions was combined with frontline operations into a homogenous plan of operations against the military potential of the opponent. Cutting off troops from their sources of supplies and from resources indispensable to the functioning of modern armed forces was an important objective of military activities.

In a nuclear war, the main strategic objective would be to paralyze the economic functions of the country under attack, deranging its administrative cohesion, devastating its system of transportation, and weakening the mental resistance of the people to the difficulties connected with living and activities of wartime. Consequently, the principal and the most destructive blows would be directed against the basic economic and administrative centers as well as against numerous strategic installations "selected" in advance and scattered in the entire area of the nations engaged in the conflict.

This kind of strategy—its form was demonstrated to us by the American air force during the war in Vietnam—has as its objective the destruction of everything that might be of service to the other side in achieving its intentions. It is not the battle for selected installations which characterizes theories of nuclear war but a merciless struggle for the life of entire nations.

## A "Scientific" War

At the same time as the appearance of such theories, a problem came to light which had not been considered in any war in the past. How to reconcile the striving for rapid elimination of the opponent from the conflict (thus inflicting upon him the greatest possible losses) with that of preserving a certain restraint in the destruction—a restraint emanating not from humanitarian motives but from the need to demand some definite material profits from the defeated party? If this restraint is not taken into account, the consequences of the war might turn against the victor, burdening him with the fortunes, or rather the misfortunes of the conquered nation.

The accumulated stockpiles of nuclear weapons have created a "threshold of power" for a number of years now which significantly exceeds what is needed for destroying targets having any military significance whatsoever. Any further increase in the explosive potential of nuclear weapons no longer has any purpose. In the light of such eventualities, even for men as devoid of scruples as the nuclear strategists of the Pentagon, an objection must have arisen as to the "affordability" of a nuclear attack. For it is not unlikely that a situation might arise in which, in the face of the total destruction of a specific territory, the war might lose its political and economic meaning (if we can at all speak of meaning in this case).

Thus, various sytems of nuclear weapons were created—from small, tactical to intercontinental; ingenious concepts of nuclear bombardments came into existence resulting from many years of studies, conducted—first in the USA, and later also in NATO—by institutions established for that purpose. Such enthusiasts of nuclear warfare as Edward Teller or Otto Kahn elaborated for the use of the Pentagon "scientific" theories on the utilization of propulsion and nuclear weapons, pointing out means for their most "effective" utilization possible.

For a few years now, counterforces strategy has been in force in the American military doctrine—a concept of attacks solely on such targets as have military significance. What is the meaning, however, of such a "convention" in the event of a nuclear war? These days, the notion of "a strategic target" is always associated with a sizable area where the concentration of a great number of people, of social facilities, and of cultural centers, etc., is unavoidable. And there is no way to limit the consequences of a nuclear explosion to a point designated on a map. It is impossible to prevent the spreading of flames beyond the boundaries defined by a compass, or to prevail upon the wind not to spread radio—active dust over cities and villages hundreds of kilometers away from the target of nuclear attacks.

The strategy of "flexible response" called for in the Atlantic Pact anticipates a gradual introduction into military operations of nuclear weapons of varying ranges. In the first stage, their application was supposed to be limited exclusively to the battlefield, to the front zone, while the means used in this would not have a long range or a great capacity for destruction. A neutron projectile is—in the opinion of armchair strategists—an "ideal" type of weapon when it comes to narrowing the range of military operations, and it is fully suited to the strategy of "flexible response."

What is the meaning however of "front zone" in contemporary theories of the art of warfare? It is an area stretching across hundreds of kilometers, not only in width but also in depth and containing (in European conditions, in any case) more or less well-settled territories. Neutron projectiles directed at military units would also include within the range of their destructive activity a whole series of localities having nothing to do with the military operations and inhabited by a civilian population.

In any case, this "gradation" in the use of nuclear weapons, or their limitation in the ongoing battles toward some single type is a purely theoretical assumption. Let us imagine the confrontation of two armies outfitted with weapons ranging from the lightest to the heaviest caliber. From the moment the operations begin, the opponents, remembering the established "rules of the game," open fire with the weapons of low power and range, trying to limit the field of battle. For how long would this be observed? Should the divisions at the first line of the front suffer defeat, would any one of the sides refrain from giving them assistance and from opening fire from rocket launchers located in the rear, of longer range and a greater destruction power?

In spite of the greatly advanced mechanization and automation of armaments, battles are fought by people whose behavior in the thick of battle fire evades, as a rule, the strict control. It is impossible to predict how the commanders would comport themselves during the vast confusion that would arise through the use of even the least potent nuclear weapons,

at a time when entire regiments would be swept off the face of the earth, communication destroyed, liaison among the units broken, and the staffs would not know what course the battle was taking.

None of the doctrinal combinations in the area of nuclear escalation, none of the ideas to the effect that a nuclear conflict could be subject to some kind of discipline, or that it would be possible to stop "half-way" are based on any realistic premises and are assumptions belonging in the field of science fiction. A nuclear war once started would touch off a storm, the results of which would be incalculable.

This is why protest against neutron weapons should be not merely an opposition to a new form of armament proliferation, but should have for its purpose, as well, the mobilization of public opinion in the struggle for preserving peace so that a "regulated" cataclysm might never come into being.

9275-R CSO: 2600

POLAND

#### LEADERS GREET DPRK COUNTERPARTS ON NATIONAL DAY

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9-10 Sep 78 pp 1, 2 AU

[Greetings message from Edward Gierek, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, Henry K Jablonski, State Council Chairman, and Piotr Jaroszewicz, Council of Ministers chairman, to DPRK counterparts on DPRK national day]

[Text] To Comrade Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Korean Workers Party KWP Central Committee and president of the DPRK, Comrade Yi Ching-ok, premier of the Administration Council, DPRK, in Pyongyang:

Dear Comrades, on behalf of the PZPR Central Committee, the State Council, the government of the Polish People's Republic and the Polish people we send to you and, through you, all the Korean people our cordial congratulation and best wishes on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the DPRK.

The establishment of the DPRK in September of 1948, thanks to the struggle of the revolutionary Korean forces led by the communists and thanks to the liberation mission of the invincible Soviet Army, was a historic achievement of the people of Korea and an important event in the struggle of Asian peoples for freedom and progress.

In the past 30 years the DPRK has traversed the difficult road of transforming the country and society and of victoriously fighting in defense of its freedom against imperialist aggression and has achieved great results in socialist construction.

The Polish people highly value the DPRK's economic, social and cultural achievements scored under the leadership of the KWP and its leader—the general secretary of the KWP Central Committee and the president of the DPRK. We express our deep conviction that the fraternal friendship and cooperation our peoples, parties and states—friendship and cooperation based on the principle of Marxism—Leninism and proletarian internationalism—will continue to gain in strength and to become richer for the good of our two countries and all the forces of peace, socialism and progress in the world.

The Polish people express their solidarity with the Korean people's efforts to achieve a peaceful unification of their country and support the DPRK's constructive proposals to this end, which can be achieved through the Korean people's preseverance and with the support of the Soviet Union and other socialist states under conditions of detente and peace in the world.

Dear comrades, we wish you further successful implementation of the tasks of the Second Seven-Year Plan mapped out by the KWP. We wish you new successes in socialist construction and in the DPRK's comprehensive development.

[Signed] Edward Gierek, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, Henry K Jablonski, chairman of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic, Piotr Jaroszewicz, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

#### SERBIAN INTERIOR SECRETARY INTERVIEWED ON SECURITY

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1437, 23 Jul 78 pp 10-11

[Article by Dragan Jovanovic: "How We Are Defending Ourselves"]

[Text] Viobran Stanojevic, secretary for internal affairs of the Federal Republic of Serbia, says: "Even though all hostile structures made themselves known in connection with all significant sociopolitical drives and manifestations organized in the past, increased precongress and pre-election activity by the working people and citizens and by organs of social self-defense and internal affairs has made it impossible for the enemy to carry out any harmful attacks."

Our citizens have always been interested in knowing how the internal security service operates, what kind of weapons it uses, with whom it fights. This interest in the work of SUP [Secretariat for Internal Affairs] organs has increased in the last few months because of a number of important political events, which among other things were accompanied by increased hostile activity. This subject was discussed last week by Viobran Stanojevic, secretary for internal affairs of the Federal Republic of Serbia in a speech to the Assembly of the republic. That was the reason why our reporter visited him and discussed with him the question of the modernization of the security service.

Viobran Stanojevic says: "The favorable security situation must not rock us to sleep, because the activities of hostile and other socially harmful forces do not cease. These forces have been identified for a long time. We are talking about fascist and cominform emigres who, by themselves, do not represent any force. On the other hand, these emigres put themselves in the service of the most reactionary circles in foreign countries. The same path has been followed also by the internal, hidden enemy of society. The method of struggle has also changed. For a long time, anarcholiberals of the Djilas and Mihajlov type have been uninterested in advocating a multiparty system. Nor do the Rankovicites or Cominformists, whose activities have been stymied

by the incapacitation of their most outstanding representatives Mile Perovic and Vlade Dancevic, advocate their bureaucratic-statist platform any longer."

## Partnership of Hostile Forces

"The goal of both one side and the other today," says Stanojevic, "is above all the brotherhood and unity of our nations within the framework of self-management. And so the attack is conducted against the most vital parts of society, which for them is the most convenient way of undermining the sociopolitical system. And this is happening, from provocative acts by Djilas, Mihajlov and others in Yugoslavia and appeals to the foreign public at the time of the CSCE with constant attacks on specific situations, manifestations and relations in society, such as problems in the economy, international affairs, personnel policy, implementation of rights of self-management, freedom and rights of citizens. Attacks continue on the policy of the party's central committee and on the system of self-management with a view to showing only errors, failures and problems in overall development as a failure of the policy of the central committee."

Dusan Gligorijevic pointed out the following at a meeting last week of the Belgrade Municipal Conference of the LCY: "Nationalists, who have remained the strongest internal enemies, talk about the development of self-management as the 'most ordinary bluff and decent of the workers.'" At that meeting, during which the program was presented for implementation of the resolutions of the 11th Congress, Ratko Butulija also warned that nationalists from Zabreg and Belgrade are forming increasingly closer ties, as are professors of the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade and the people around PRAXIS. Butulija points out that what binds all these people is only their deep antagonism towards socialist self-management and the Yugoslav revolution.

### Intervention in a Second

The day before the meeting of the Municipal Conference, deputies of the Serbian Assembly sitting in joint session adopted a proposal to supplement and change the program for outfitting organs of internal affairs.

In almost all SUP organs, there is a shortage of specialists. The situation is particularly unsatisfactory in the police, which is clearly perceptible with the more extensive and more complicated security tasks. An advanced school of internal affairs is to start operating by autumn, providing—of course—that all the necessary preparations are completed on time. SUP equipment, which does not correspond entirely to modern requirements, must also be modernized.

And how much money is allocated for SUP organs?

Stanojevic said this in the assembly: "Last year, the republic-level secretariat received 160 million and this year 270 million dinars. It is enough

for what is needed most. However, I must point out on this occasion what Tito recently said in a discussion with us, namely that investment to protect the working man and his material well-being and the freedom and independence of this country has never been expensive and must never be.

"The money will be spent above all on modernizing communications equipment and on creating an integral, closed system for activating local and regional SUP organs from the center as quickly as possible. The construction of an information computer center, one of the most modern in the world, is nearly finished. With this system, information or orders from the top level of the service can be transmitted within a few seconds to SUP workers in the field. Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

"In this way, SUP files will be available to every one in the field, and the number of unnecessary actions will be reduced. Let us recall that the Secretariat for Internal Affairs has heretofore been entitled to arrest a suspect for 3 days to verify his identity. This job will now take a minute or less while a policeman verifies the identity of a suspect by radio.

"In this way, the Secretariat for Internal Affairs will not only operate more efficiently in its fight against criminals and enemies, but the citizens will also be spared unnecessary misunderstandings with the police. And there have been misunderstandings, especially in smaller towns but also in Belgrade."

## Bulletproof Vests

"Funds will likewise be used to train people to do these new jobs and use these new types of equipment, and they must be spent in accordance with the law and the constitution. Indeed, the authority of every SUP employee is great. Great executive power is concentrated in these persons, and the slightest deviation from the service rules on their part can impair the rights and self-respect of the citizens, with harmful consequences for the reputation of the security service."

Certain special SUP units will be equipped with bulletproof vests, shields, the most modern light weapons, equipment, radiocommunication equipment and transport (fast helicopters and armored cars). A discussion was held recently precisely about this heavy equipment for the police: does the police need armored cars and helicopters or not?

Stanojevic responded to these dilemmas as follows: "at a time when terrorism is increasingly evident as a weapon of reactionary forces and as a serious international factor, when Yugoslav fascist emigres are making noise and announcing threats—particularly during the tourist season in order to create disturbances and unrest among citizens and distrust among foreign tourists, when border areas, landing places, ports and airports are attractive terrorist targets, the Secretariat for Internal Affairs must be equipped to be able to intervene quickly and effectively."

For the sake of a more complete picture of the security situation, one must bear in mind that foreign intelligence services are constantly after information of significance to economic, ethnic and other trends and relations, the attitudes of citizens, relations between individual republics and autonomous regions, personnel changes in party, state and military leadership entities, the situation in national defense, the Yugoslav People's Army, territorial defense and social self-defense, and readiness to defend the country.

These services also show a clear interest in all the more significant political events, such as the 11th LCY Congress and the 8th Congress of the League of Communists of Serbia, elections and the forthcoming conference of nonaligned countries.

In the same way, intelligence services are striving to find new sources of information, and they are also misusing our hospitality.

The security service was this year again subjected to great trials and tests (elections, congresses, and so on), and it has passed all of them. By the end of the month, it will face new tests: the ministerial conference in Belgrade, again at the Sava Congress Center.

\* \* \*

The fire protection situation is unsatisfactory. In 1977, fire losses amounted to approximately 400 million dinars.

During the first half of this year, the number of fires declined slightly as compared to the same period of last year (1,347 in 1977 and 1,200 in 1978), but material damage rose 10 million dinars.

Secretary Stanojevic reported to the Assembly of Serbia as follows: "The most frequent causes of fire are unscrupulous, negligent and extremely irresponsible attitudes toward social property and its protection. Individuals and organizations of associated labor are not complying fully with their legal obligations in this area and do not fully implement instructions concerning protection against fire. Half of the opstinas in Serbia lack surveys on the situation and plans for protection against fire. There is also a lag in the application of modern achievements, installation of automatic equipment for fire detection, inspection of premises, automatic extinction of fire, and so on.

"The most recent example of inadequate care in the area of protection against fire was precisely the fire which occurred on 13 May in the cupola of the Congress Center. We wanted to complete an 18-month job in 8 months, forgeting that we needed 7,000 workers instead of 700, and that security had to be 10 times greater. No wonder that during the laying of asphalt, due to the large concentration of asphalt fumes, a spark coming from the welding of metal structures was enough to start a fire."

5668-R CSO: 2800

YUGOSLAVIA

#### LIUBICIC SENDS GREETINGS TO NAVY ON NAVY DAY

Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0815 GMT 9 Sep 78 LD

[Text] Belgrade--On the occasion of Navy Day, Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense, has sent the following greetings to the sailors, cadets and officers of the navy:

Dear comrades, on the occasion of 10 September, the Day of the SFRY Navy, Navigation and Shipping, I send you my sincere greetings and comradely felicitations.

You are greeting your holiday with exceptional results in the strengthening of the combat readiness and ideopolitical unity of your ranks, your expert military skill and leadership, the modernization of your structures and the economical use of the means at your disposal. In addition to this, you have developed very close cooperation with the sociopolitical organizations and communities and with the economic organizations along the coast and on the islands, whereby you have contributed to the continued perfection and strengthening of all-people's defense and social self-protection in these areas.

This year, too, you have acquired new resources of combat technology, which obliges you to take even greater pains to master to perfection this technology and increase our navy's strike power, thus contributing to the security of our borders at sea and on the rivers and lakes.

The 11th LCY Congress highly appraised the combat readiness of the armed forces and the entire defense capability of our country.

A large part is played in all this by the members of the navy, however, Comrade Tito constantly stresses that we must never lapse into complacency, but rather the results achieved must serve as a stimulus for further efforts and endeavors. Approach, therefore, with even greater elan the performing of the tasks set for the armed forces by our Supreme Commander and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Foster in your ranks highly conscious and expertly trained cadres, who are our guardians perpetuating the bright traditions of the navy of the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia.

Devote special attention to strengthening moral political unity, discipline, comradeship and healthy interhuman relations, and to nurturing brotherhood and unity in your ranks.

On this occasion I would also like to send my greetings to the work collectives of shipbuilding, repair yards, shipping enterprises, port activities, naval and nautical schools, scientific institutions and the organizations of popular technology, and water sports organizations, with the desire that they should achieve even greater successes in their work and in the strengthening of the defense capability and standing of our self-management and nonalined socialist community.

Greeting you on your holiday, I wish you new successes in your future work.

YUGOSLAVIA

#### MILITARY WEEKLY DISCUSSES LCY ELECTIONS IN ARMY

Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2040, 31 Aug 78 p 1 AU

[Article by B. Miletic: "Our Observation Point: The Fall Elections"]

[Text] This year, autumn will be marked for soldiers by elections in the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army. "The change" of aktivists will begin first at the basis, that is, in the basic organizations of the League of Communists. It will move from there to higher levels. The entire work will begin in the first days of the first fall month and will be concluded by the end of the year when, as is anticipated, the highest leadership of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army will be constituted.

Even a cursory glance at the calendar of the party elections which are forth-coming shows us that the time for these elections is shorter than in the past. Instead of being completed by next March when 2 years will have passed since the constituting of the present conference of the League of Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army, these elections will be completed as early as this December. The reason for this is the need to catch up with the party organizations in the republics and provinces because, beginning with these elections, in accordance with the amendments to the statute and the statutory decision, we, too, are changing over to the 4-year mandate term of a part of the executive, executive-political and political party organs and forums.

A quicker change of duties between tens of thousands of secretaries of basic organizations, members of their secretariats, delegates to conferences and members of committees of the League of Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army is welcome this time because it will contribute toward insuring that the political action, which has been increasingly more intensified since June, will burst forth to the ultimate possibilities at the beginning of next year.

The elections provide an opportunity for the basic organizations of the League of Communists and its conferences at all levels to fully perceive at their meetings and sessions the tasks emanating from the decisions of the 11th LCY Congress and to plan these tasks and incorporate them in all their programs of ideological-political activity. The recommendation of the committee of the League of Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army to change to some extent

the classical scheme of the electoral meeting and the recommendation that action programs should not be descriptive has come at the right time and will encourage members to fulfill this task in a worthy manner.

This means that during the process of assumption of their duties by those aktivists who will be at the head of the party ranks in the coming mandate period the main topic on the agenda must be the Congress, that is, the tasks of the organization of the League of Communists concerned in light of the work, conclusions and decisions of this highest recent party meeting and in light of the situation in the community concerned, instead of the customary discussions about soldiers' everyday life.

Of course, it is impossible to talk about the coming tasks without reviewing the road traversed so far, and since the combat preparation of military collectives and the strengthening of all-people's defense in general are the main task assigned to the communists in the army by the 10th (as published) LCY Congress, the main attention during the forthcoming review of the party work will be devoted primarily to the achievements in this sphere of activity. The tasks that nearly 100,000 communists in the army will set for themselves and for those in whom they will express their confidence in the elections also fall within this sphere.

The criteria and the basic requirements for winning the confidence of voters are clear. The best among the good will be elected; that is, those who have won their place at the head of the ranks by their moral-political values and by their activity and who will be the most consistent in implementing the party line. Since our cadre party reorganizations also involve a rejuvenation of party organs and forums (during thelast elections two of every three secretaries of basic organizations were elected to this position for the first time), the question of training of aktivists according to the customary practice of the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army becomes a condition without which it will be difficult to maintain the rate of progress in the struggle for the implementation of decisions of the llth LCY Congress, but if the right people will be elected to the organs and forums of organizations of the League of Communists—and there is no reason to doubt this—their initiation in their work will not be difficult.

## CROATIAN EMIGRE TERRORIST ACTIONS DISCUSSED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 21 Aug 78 pp 25-26

Text Three million Croatians live outside Yugoslavia. The extradition of Bilandzic, a jailed Croatian, would be tantamount to "a declaration of world war against the Federal Republic."

"Yugoslavia must be destroyed -- with the aid of Russians or Americans, of communists, noncommunists and anticommunists; with the aid of anyone who wants to help destroy it. Destroy it with the dialectic of words or with dynamite, but destroy it absolutely. For if there is any state that has no justification for its existence, that state is Yugoslavia."

This was the proclamation issued 2 years ago by the Croatian fascist Luburic in exile in Spain and printed in OBRANA, the organ of the "Croatian Popular Resistance" emigre organization. Luburic has meanwhile been murdered, the popular resistance organization has been banned in the FRG and one of its functionaries, Stipe Bilandzic, 39, is in jail in Cologne awaiting extradition.

Stipe Bilandzic's organization had about a dozen members -- virtually nothing considering the FRG's 390,000 Yugoslav guest workers, most of whom come from the Republic of Croatia and also intend to return there.

Tens of thousands of emigrants in the Federal Republic have joined together in the nonpartisan "Croatian National Council" (with ex-communists on the executive board) or the Christian-Democratic "Croatian Farmers Party" -- both are peaceful debating societies. Several hundred, however, are fighting for an independent Croatian state within radical groups that are comparable to the "Popular Resistance" -- classified in May as a terrorist organization by the BGH /Federal High Court/.

The radicals have thus far been unsuccessful in their efforts to wield a major influence, but if resistance fighter Bilandzic is extradited to

Yugoslavia, he will be assured worldwide of the role of a Croatian martyr -- so say those who are knowledgeable about the Croatian scene.

This is because only 4.5 million Croatians live in Croatia, but 3 million live abroad. For example, the active community in the United States is represented by the governor of Minnesota, who even today serves his guests sarma — meat-filled cabbage rolls. Another representative, at 31, is the youngest mayor of a major U.S. city, Cleveland ("I have remained a Slav"). And there is the mayor of Chicago, the site of the most recent taking of hostages. He is also named Bilandzic and may even stem from the same Bosnian clan as the prisoner in Cologne.

The radicals of the Croatian internationale intend to bomb their own state, in suicide missions if necessary. "Kill every one who deserves it for betraying his people," says the U.S. journal HRVATSKA BORBA.

Nineteen terrorists from the FRG and Australia, where 300,000 Croatians live, marched as a battle group through the Bosnian karst. Another shot the Yugoslavian ambassador in Stockholm to death, was taken into custody and was then freed by his comrades in the aftermath of the hijacking of an SAS airliner.

Croatian-Americans -- including a German woman married to one of them -- hijacked a scheduled airliner on a flight from New York to Chicago, intending to direct it to Croatia where they would drop leaflets on an outdoor church convention. The skyjackers are in prison in the United States.

Croatian nationalists feel particularly drawn to Germany because the dream of having their own state became a reality under the German protectorate during World War II -- at the expense of the native Serbs who were subjected to bloody oppression and who took revenge after 1945.

In the Federal Republic, which appeared to them to be thoroughly anticommunist, some of the Croatians also went over to the side of the extremists, who -- like Bilandzic -- had been but 6 years old in 1945. The radicals waged murderous underground warfare against the Yugoslav State Security Service on West German territory.

The Croatians list 20 dead as the result of alleged attacks by Yugoslav secret agents. In the case of several of the victims, German police authorities were indeed able to determine that the criminals had fled the country for Yugoslavia.

In turn, the last major operation of the terrorists was the assault on the Yugoslav mission in Mehlem 16 years ago that resulted in the death of the caretaker. Bilandzic, then 24, was also in on this and paid for it with 3 years in prison. Insiders consider the attack by the Croatians to have been a diversionary tactic, the real target being the embassy's secret document room containing information on a Yugoslav espionage ring directed against NATO. A number of Tito's agents are said to have fled Western Europe at that time. This would also explain Belgrad's interest in Bilandzic, who had set fire to the empty document room.

The backgrounds of the later attacks by the Croatians are less clear. In one case 3 years after the Mehlem incident, Vice-Consul Klaric was wounded in Meersburg. He was apparently an agent since he carried two handguns and bogus automobile license plates were found in the trunk of his car. The gunman was sent to prison.

One year later a guest worker named Goreta shot to death a Yugoslav consul in the "Kellerbraeu" restaurant in Stuttgart. According to Goreta, the consul had tried to hire him to kill three Croatians-in-exile. Goreta was sentenced to 10 years in prison; the three emigres were murdered all the same.

An attempt on the life of Yugoslavia's Berlin chief of mission, Kolendic, was made in 1969. Curiously enough, Kolendic today holds the Berlin Caritas organization responsible for the attack. In 1976, Yugoslav Vice-Consul Zdovc was murdered in Frankfurt. The motives behind this case are totally obscure; the most important witness has returned to Yugoslavia.

It was also 2 years ago that Croatians shot at Tropic, the vice-consul in Duesseldorf; they missed their target, however. Two of the criminals are behind bars. According to the Superior Provincial Court OLG in Cologne, a third person — the mastermind — may have been Bilandzic, who was in Spain at the time of the assault.

Of course, the German police had previously been unable to prove anything against him. They did not have at their disposal the material which the Yugoslav authorities have now put before the Cologne OLG for its decision on extradition.

If he is turned over to his mortal enemies, the Croatians' love for the Germans is all over, warned the well-informed mentor of the Croatians, Milan Ilinic, in Munich: "Extradition would become a question of principle for all Croatian emigres. All Croatians are opposed to it, be they Croatians-in-exile or guest workers. Extradition would be tantamount to a declaration of world war against the Federal Republic."

Neither would they continue to assist the German police. Croatians did indeed provide a tip for the arrest of their countryman Josip Jerkovic — they beat him up. In a demonstration Jerkovic had carried a banner with the inscription: "Two German policemen for every extradited Croatian." 7458

YUGOSLAVIA

## LEVELLING TRENDS IN EDUCATIONAL REFORM ARGUED

Mandic's Sarcastic View

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 115, 22 Jul 78 p 22

[Column by Igor Mandic]

[Excerpt] So that no one will say that I am just fussing around about fashionable tailors, I shall take the liberty of saying a couple of words about how and why our educational system and educational policy are being reshaped (with Croatia as an example). This is too broad a topic for a brief piece, of course, and the documents do not lend themselves to superficial description. I would just like to comment on a single statement by our republic-level secretary for education, culture, and physical education, Dr Stipe Suvar, first heard in a recent Radio Zagreb broadcast (in which the minister for culture responded to questions from disturbed and embittered parents) and then published (VJESNIK of 9 July 1978).

Question: "With the reform of education, you have been creating class differences. Today the rich are not landowners, there are people with thick pay envelopes and thin pay envelopes. Only the children of intellectuals and the rich can be educated."

Dr Suvar: "On the contrary, everything that we are doing is designed to reduce those differences, not increase them. Before these changes, too, there was a big rush for just certain occupations. The situation was even worse. The honor pupils went mainly to the gymnasia, while the average ones went mainly to vocational schools. The latter received no broader education, the doors of higher education were closed to them."

I would say that this answer hints at the whole essence of the current reform of education, and in a radical way at that. The main point is that pupils' individual abilities will no longer be favored, since those abilities—according to certain psychosocial teachings—are social and class—related, not individual! In simpler terms, honor pupils are not outstanding just because they study hard but because their well—off parents have provided good study conditions. Ignorance, incompetence,

stupidity, laziness--those are all social categories. It is the task of the reform to redistribute abilities properly, i.e., to halt the development of those who have unjustly made their mark in study and knowledge, to sidetrack them, and vice versa--to push abruptly ahead those individuals whose living conditions have prevented them from rising above average. This tremendous turnabout in all personal values and abilities is being offered to us as an epochal achievement. An attempt is being made to break the charmed circle of class-conditioned education with the slogan "Average pupils, forward! Honor pupils, halt!" An individual's intelligence and will to study are not personal characteristics, so educational reform ought to favor those who have learned poorly or not at all for years, those who have barely made it through to average marks. It is the hardest for them, poor fellows, and it is not their fault that science is difficult for them. These are beautiful prospects: before, it "was.. even worse," because the honor pupils naturally continued their education, while our dear average pupils "received no broader education." Things will be better now: we shall guide honor pupils into vocational schools, and the "doors to higher education" will be opened to the average pupils.

And yet comrade Ivo Druzijanic remains astonished (in OKO, No 165, 13-27 July 1978) at my column headed "Dream About One's Own Restaurant" (in DUGA, No 112, 10 June 1978) for the remark that "every second cultural creator yearns to exchange his profession to 'cook goulash' and 'tap beer' for his own profit." He is astonished, as I say, yet he does not see that these "yearnings" among cultured folk—unsupported by any surveys or statistics—are truly keeping pace with our reality and are in line with trends in our reform of the educational system. To be specific, if personal knowledge and effort will soon be no longer terribly important, would it not be wise and appropriate for us to retrain ourselves as soon as possible?

The honor pupils could become innkeepers while the average pupils could become the stars of the cultural world!

## Rebuttal with Statistics

[Editorial Report] Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian on 11 August 1978, page 13, offers a rebuttal to the Mandic piece in DUGA. The anonymous commentator cites admission statistics from higher educational institutions in Zagreb purporting to show that honor pupils are not being neglected. On the other hand, the commentator goes on to say that this is a sign not of successful reform but rather of the continuing attraction of institutions possessing the aura of the onetime gymnasia, i.e., academic secondary schools.



YUGOSLAVIA

### BRIEFS

GENERAL LJUBICIC ARRIVES--Sarajevo, 30 August--General of the Army Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense, today arrived in Sarajevo on a 2-day visit to the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Milanko Renovica, president of the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina; Vladimir Mijatovic, member of the Executive Council; Col Gen Mirko Vranic, commander of the Republican Territorial Defense Staff; and Lt Gen Milan Acic, commander of the Sarajevo Army District, welcomed and greeted General Ljubicic at the Sarajevo airport. Col Gen Dusan Vjjatovic, assistant federal secretary, Col Gen Dzemil Sarac, secretary of the LCY Conference in the Yugoslav People's Army, and other associates arrived in Sarajevo together with the federal secretary. During the day General of the Army Nikola Ljubicic will attend the opening of the consultative conference on the problems of operations of the basic organizations of associated labor of designated production in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and visit the Zrak composite organization of associated labor in Sarajevo. [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Aug 78 p 6 AU]

CSO: 2800

END